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CHURCH REVIEW

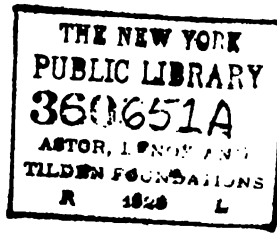
Pro Ecclesia Sancta Catholica
Pro Sancta Catholica Fide
Pro Sancto Dei Verbo

EDITED BY THE
Rev. Henry Mason Baum

VOLUME XLVII
JANUARY AND APRIL, 1886
WHOLE NUMBER CLXI

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY
IN THE MONTHS OF
JANUARY, APRIL, JULY, AND OCTOBER

NEW YORK
The Church Review Association
1886



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NOV 1886
JUL 1887
VIA 1888

The Riverside Press, Cambridge:
Electrotyped and Printed by H. O. Houghton and Company.

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January 1886

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CHURCH REVIEW

VOL. XLVII.—No. I

JANUARY, 1886

Whole No. CLX

CHARLES THE FIRST A MARTYR.

THE circumstances attending the first settlement of this country have been responsible for much false teaching with reference to what is popularly spoken of as the Revolution of England, and it is only within a comparatively recent period that juster views have found tolerance. It is quite within the experience of nearly every one to hear the most extravagant praises of Cromwell and his followers crowded into popular addresses. Systematic works and greater leisure for personal investigation have at last awakened a new interest in the history of the XVII. century, and now it is permitted to doubt the absolute sanctity of Puritanism, and, indeed, public sentiment seems to be drifting somewhat to the other extreme. All classes of people, probably, are now prepared to admit that the Cromwellians were ordinary human beings, with human weaknesses. In the hope that a more just estimate of the men and events of the Cromwellian rebellion may be secured, I shall endeavor to present not so much a narrative of events, which are certainly quite familiar to all readers, as an argument, more or less philosophical, based upon these events.

Among a certain class of people, a very large and influential one at that, it is common to express approval when their children evince a taste for reading what is called history; and the same class of literature is considered by them to be the chief kind of *solid* reading. Now, if we were to ask such an one: "What

is history?" the answer would be, most likely: "A record of events." That this is all of it, the full scope and meaning of the word, few outside of the class of educators have ever questioned. But history is something more, something better than this; it is the *science*, the *philosophy* of events. The careful student of the history of his race can scarcely fail to note that every event of great political importance, everything that has had a tendency to alter the composition of society, change the political complexion of the State, or recast the geography of empires, has been a natural and inevitable effect following a recognised cause; it has been a legitimate conclusion to a state of facts that has grown out of the development of the people from a lower to a higher standard of morals, intellect, and wealth. It is the part of the historian to detect these causes, to trace out the steps in the process of evolution, and to draw lessons for the future from the teachings of the past. This knowledge cannot be acquired by reading any one author, no matter how gifted such an one may be. In fact, the greater the ability of the writer, the more dangerous is his teaching. If history is a simple chronology, the mere publication of State papers and records would be all that is necessary. The labors of the historian, as far as a mere narrative of events is concerned, would be merely clerical. These events need explanation, or modification for party-purposes, or even for more worthy objects; the mere amplification and classification of State papers and records, therefore, cannot rise to the dignity of history.

Certain periods of history are properly subjects for partisanship; there are questions at issue about which men may well differ, and which can never be dogmatically stated. Take, for example, the period commencing with the death of Henry VIII. and ending with the accession of the House of Hanover. Would Macaulay have written his Whig and Low-Church history, had not Hume and Smollett given the Tory and High-Church side of the question? Would Evelyn's Diary ever have seen the light, had not Burnet written the

History of his own Times? No! none of these were written merely to narrate *events*, but to give the events the color they bore to the Jacobite, the Williamite, the Tory, the Whig, or the High or Low-Churchmen!

With reference to the topic before us these questions will be found to have a particular interest. In this country, unfortunately, at least until very recently, our school-books are written, for the most part, by those who have been nurtured in an intense, although often unrecognised partisanship; our children derive their ideas from these books, the partisan spirit is extended, and they grow up with the most narrow and partial conceptions of the great events which led to the birth of our country and nation, not knowing that they *are* narrow, partial, and partisan. It is not so much with the desire to make proselytes, therefore, as to demonstrate that there are two sides to every question, even one as long-settled, according to our school-book "historians," as this of the righteousness of the execution of Charles I. We can lay down, as a proper preliminary, this first axiom in the study of history: The student must endeavor to put himself back into the age of which he is reading. Adopting this for the present, and putting away from us XIX. century ideas and republican prejudices, let us inquire as to the Constitution of England in the year 1600.

To a republican, more particularly one born and reared in a country such as our own, the first misconception is apt to be in the nature of kingship as it existed when Charles I. came to the throne. In those days (in theory the same to-day) the subject owed allegiance and fealty to the sovereign alone; there was no loyalty to a constitution, none to a form of government, none to an idea that represented a political principle; the loyalty and duty was *personal*. Duty was owing to the sovereign as the State in essence; treason was imagining or compassing the death of the King, laying violent hands upon his person, thwarting his policy, intriguing with his enemies. An affront to the King was an affront to the nation. This personal loyalty and

allegiance was due to the accepted theory of kingship. No convention or caucus, or other expression of popular will called the ruler to the throne; he did not reign as the representative of a party, nor in any sense as a popular representative. He was ordained by God! his birth was his title, and it was a high offence against Heaven to harm "the LORD's anointed." He gave no pledges, was not bound to a policy, had no sort of compact with his subjects. Providence ordained that he should be born the heir of his predecessor, and that his people were to receive him as their liege-lord and ruler. The theory of kingship, I have said, is the same to-day. A recent writer—Bagehot—quoted by Escott [p. 353] in his work on *England*, speaking of the Royal prerogative, gives an account of the independence of the Queen from Parliamentary control, as far as law and precedent is concerned. He says:

Not to mention other things, she can disband the army, . . . she could dismiss all the officers from the general commanding-in-chief downwards; she could dismiss all the sailors too; she could sell off all our ships-of-war, and all our naval stores; she could make a peace by the sacrifice of Cornwall, and begin a war for the conquest of Brittany; she could make every citizen in the United Kingdom, male and female, a peer; she could dismiss most of the civil servants; she could pardon all offenders. In a word, the Queen could, by prerogative, upset all the actions of civil government within the Government; could disgrace the nation by a bad war or peace; and could, by disbanding our forces, whether land or sea, leave us defenceless against foreign nations.

The *theory* of kingship, therefore, is unchanged; the exertion of the undoubted prerogative is only withheld in deference to the changed condition of the subject.

This theory was not at all peculiar to England, in fact there was even then some show of constitutionalism in that kingdom. It was the universal conception of kingship, held in common by all nations. To be sure, there was a republican government in Genoa, one in Venice, and one in Switzerland; but they bore no resemblance to what we call republicanism to-day. It was a substitution of many tyrants for one, in some cases without the power to dispossess them after their elevation.

Cooper's novel, *The Bravo*, gives an interesting picture of the tyranny of the Venetian government. In a few words, the right to reign, in monarchical countries, was solely derived from the circumstance of legitimate heirship to the throne.

In an age such as this, with a conception of kingly authority and prerogative sanctioned by universal acceptance, Charles I. came to the thrones of Scotland and England, thoroughly schooled in the doctrines of the times, and utterly oblivious of the fact that theories of government must conform to the intellectual and moral condition of the governed. Indeed, this truth was not appreciated by his descendants until after much suffering and humiliation.

In an age when the mass of men were ignorant, when land was owned by the few, when cities were small and unimportant, when nineteen-twentieths of the population were laborers for the remaining twentieth, a personal irresponsible monarchy was a perfectly legitimate order of government. The distance between the King and commoner was so great that Royalty necessarily seemed a thing of almost supernatural power and authority. As education became more general among the people, the real property of the nation divided into a greater number of holdings, the cities increased in wealth and size, and the people were brought into closer personal relations with their sovereign, there came a more just appreciation of the rights and prerogatives of the governed, and a feeling of restraint and restiveness under the assumption of exclusive authority by the head of the State. This has been the experience of all nations, the means by which the emancipation of the masses was secured, however, differing very greatly. In some we see a legitimate progress, a gradual growth of the idea of a popular or constitutional government, and a necessarily stable and settled state of affairs when the change is accomplished. In others the reform is attempted by bloodshed, or some great moral wrong, and there comes a correspondingly violent reaction, by which the nation is carried back, sometimes into a condition worse than

that from which it sought freedom. The failure of a popular revolution must always be considered a political crime, inasmuch as the very fact of failure argues the absence of necessity for change, or want of fitness, honesty, or preparation of the leaders. The short life of the Commonwealth, the numerous and violent changes in that time, the restoration of the King, and the disappearance of their policy, judged by the standard given above, stamps the Cromwellian rebellion as criminal, and this constitutes the first step in our inquiry.

In all countries where there are parties in politics, it is comparatively a small portion of the population that can be considered politicians, or that take any active interest in the questions of the day. The mass of the people are more or less indifferent to the claims of rival parties, even in this land of universal suffrage, and either decline or neglect to give expression to such views as they may have, or, on the day of action are swayed by purely personal considerations, circumstances that are local in their operation or make themselves individually felt. If this is true in this age of newspapers, and rapid and wide diffusion of news, what must it have been in the XVII. century, when newspapers were unknown, when months were sometimes required to transmit news from one end of the kingdom to the other; when suffrage was limited to a very small portion of the people, and hampered in various ways? The success, therefore, of one or the other party in any political conflict, in the time of Charles I., could not be said, in any sense, to represent truthfully the popular feeling. In addition to this, and for other reasons, the House of Commons had little claim to consideration as a representative body. Parliament had always been quite subservient to the Royal will, and while gratifying a popular sentiment, by affording a show of representation, the members were really chosen as the great landlords directed. The boroughs did not all send representatives to Parliament; many had no representatives whatever, and none a representation based on population. Their right consisted in charter privileges, bought or extorted from the Crown.

The small municipalities often had a representation that was denied the larger; London had but one, so had a small country hamlet. All the inhabitants of a borough did not enjoy the right of suffrage. In some only those who owned a certain amount of real property; in others the corporation elected their burgesses; in one, Stoke-regis, there was but one voter in 1649. In nearly all the rural boroughs the landlord named the member, and the electors, his tenants, obediently returned him. In 1640 the interests of the gentry were opposed to the policy of the Court, as the burdens of the new taxation rested very heavily upon them. Their influence was used to return men in their interest to oppose this stretch of royal power, and thus they unwittingly struck the first blow at the prestige and influence of their order. The Lower House at this time, therefore, represented the Peers and gentry, and not the commons of England. It was in this House that the Rebellion originated, and by them was it conducted.

When Elizabeth died, the heirs of the body of her father, Henry VIII., expired with her. This left the succession to the heirs of Henry VII., who were the descendants of his daughter Margaret, the wife of James IV. of Scotland. Her heir was James VI., son of Mary Stuart, who was undoubted King of Scotland, and direct heir to the throne of England, the disability of alienage being removed. Moreover, he was declared by Elizabeth her successor, and took the Crown without any objection, but somewhat to the mortification of many Englishmen, who little relished (at *that* day) the accession of a foreign monarch. Now, here comes in an important fact, and one that, if not intentionally suppressed, is at least little dwelt upon by Whig historians. In coming to England James lost none of his rights in Scotland; the Kingdoms remained separate and distinct in every particular; there was no semblance of union in theory or fact. The Parliament in England had no authority in Scotland, and English institutions were as entirely foreign as they ever had been. The "union" did not come until 1711, during the reign of Anne, the last of

the race of Stuart that sat on the throne. The conception of the nature of kingship, therefore, made any question of the right of James to the throne impossible; and, in fact, none *did* question it. Without any pretence of the union of the Kingdoms of Scotland and England, and without a shadow of doubt as to the legitimacy of the succession of the Scottish king to the English crown, James and his descendants could not justly, by any action of the Parliament, or rebellion of the people of England, be deprived of their crown in Scotland; nor could anything done in Scotland, parliamentary or popular, affect their throne in England.

James, with all his faults of character and government, gave a sensible impulse to the spread of education in England, and the period covered by his reign and that of his successor, together with that just closed by the death of Elizabeth, worked a radical change in the general intelligence of the people. With this collective and individual improvement came, as a natural consequence, a weakening of the royal authority, which is better fitted for arbitrary exercise where the institutions are primitive and patriarchal. A wise yielding to this inevitably altered relation of King and subject, would have saved the later horrors of the rebellion, but James' conception of the dignity and sanctity of his office was too fixed and exalted to enable him to read the signs of the times. His son was an apt scholar in the same school, and thus the dangerous attempt was made to rule a people, fast rising to a higher plane of development, in accordance with principles better suited to a primitive state of society. And why should a king be held accountable for failing to read the "signs of the times" correctly, when the inability is a *natural* one, quite general among all classes. In his case, indeed, there is a *special* disability growing out of the want of direct relation to the people. Accounts of political occurrences reached the throne colored by the apparently unavoidable filtering through the multitude of officials, reaching therefrom back to the people. Until newspapers came into existence the king only knew what his councillors

chose to tell him. Neither James nor his son had any opportunity of knowing that society was any different from what it had been during the reign of their predecessors.

In addition to the changes in society as above hinted at, the questions arising about the accession of Mary, on the death of Edward VI., when Mary, Elizabeth, Jane Grey, and Mary of Scotland had claims to the throne, one being better than another only as Parliamentary enactments were superior to the Divine right of primogeniture, had somewhat weakened the authority of the dogma that kings reigned by the will of God alone. Close upon this came the unwelcome accession of James—unwelcome to the Peers and upper classes—which had the effect to somewhat weaken the authority of the King in the upper house of Parliament, and also in the Commons from the pressure brought to bear on the electors by the great landlords. Hence when Charles finally came to the throne, the times were unpropitious for a continuance of the old order of things. The people, for the first time, were commencing to feel their importance and power in the State, and a conflict was inevitable, unless a peaceful solution could be found.

But there was another factor, one of the first importance, and one that has been much misinterpreted by popular writers. Religion assumed a prominent place in the controversies of the times. Let us devote a little space to a study of the three parties into which the people were divided—Churchmen, Dissenters, and Papists.

It is a popular error that the Church of England, the national Church, was a creation of Henry VIII., in forgetfulness of the fact that he provided in his will for the performance of "masses for the repose of his soul," was a bitter persecutor of the Lutherans, who represented the Protestant party in his day, and very nearly sent his last wife, Catherine Parr, to the scaffold on suspicion of belonging to that communion. The theory of the Church of England, as expressed in the preface to the Book of Common Prayer in the time of Edward VI.,

was and *is*, that controversial theology is a matter for private and personal settlement, but that *all* Christian people could meet for *common* prayer. Their requirements were therefore related to ritual, ceremonial, and not to doctrine, except so far as all Protestant people were united as to what they considered the "errors of Rome." Of the Clergy something more was demanded, but the laity were asked to conform to ceremonial only. The claims of the Clergy of this communion have always been that the Church of England was Apostolic, and in throwing off the yoke of the Roman primacy no revolution was consummated, only a restoration of the primitive organisation. However this may be, it is not our present purpose to inquire. Suffice it at this time to call attention to the peculiar relation a State Church sustains to the State. It is a part of its organisation; its care and sustenance is a part of the nation's burden, a proper subject for Parliamentary discussion and control, to a certain extent, and with powers and privileges peculiar to itself, yet closely related to the general polity and organisation of the Government. It represents something more than is meant by a Church in the American sense of the word, and it must be in strict harmony of feeling and policy with the Government of which it forms a part.

The Roman Catholic Church owed allegiance *first* to its Sovereign Pontiff; it held lands and benefices by a power and from an authority outside of the kingdom; it had courts and jurisdiction over which the Government had no control; above all, its head was superior to the civil head of the State in matters of dogma, theoretically; in *all* matters, temporal and spiritual, actually. In divorcing the Church from foreign control the State made enemies of all the adherents of the Romish communion; if it reconciled itself to that Church, it introduced a power superior to itself, a power that could inflict capital punishment on any subject of the State condemned by its tribunals, convicted of offences of which the State knew nothing, and from which there was no protection for life or property in the Courts of

the Realm. It recognised a power that could release the nation from subjection to its proper government, and even punish the people for yielding obedience to their own King. While such a power must be considered, in relation to the State, as something more than merely representative of a religious belief, yet insensibly, perhaps naturally, a belief in the "real presence" and other matters of a doctrinal character, came to be considered as a species of treason, and the mere exercise of the peculiar form of worship an offence to the ruling powers. Hence the Church of Rome was an enemy to the law of the land, and its adherents properly subject to the suspicion of the Government.

Another party were the Dissenters, those who in the reaction from Romanism had been carried far back into asceticism, and dissatisfaction with everything that in construction or ceremonial was suggestive of the priestly bondage in which they had so long been held. The party was the result of the aid given the Protestant parties in Holland, and elsewhere, by the sovereigns of England from Henry VIII. to James. The men sent abroad acquired a military training and skill that was denied them at home, but also became interested in the subtle theological questions of the day, questions which were responsible for the formation of numberless sects. Upon their return to England, when the policy of Charles withdrew English support, they brought military skill to the aid of the party of the opposition, and also the baneful sectarianism that sought to graft questions of doctrine on the common worship of the Established Church, questions which the ritual especially sought to exclude. They had witnessed the horrors of the Inquisition, and imbibed an intense hatred of Romanism, and everything suggestive of it. They found it an impossibility to reconcile themselves to a Church that had Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, and thus were led to form organisations out of harmony with the State Church; as the heat of party warfare augmented they gradually assumed an attitude hostile not only to the Church, but to the Government which it represented. The neces-

sity *all* Governments are under to protect themselves from assaults on their institutions, compelled England to demand of her servants, in every department of the Government, to solemnly swear to support the institutions of the State, its Constitution, and to abjure the Church of Rome and all foreign domination. The second pledge all Dissenters and Churchmen readily took ; the first could not be taken by two of the parties, because it involved a pledge to support the Church of England as *one* of the institutions of the State. The matter of dissent, it can now be seen, soon became something more than a mere question of religious belief, and the clumsy attempts of the inexperienced politicians of that early day to reconcile these conflicting parties only alienated them the more. The Dissenters, therefore, soon became enemies of the State in *all* particulars ; they split up into sects almost innumerable, differing from each other, mainly, only in the degree of their animosity to existing institutions. They were united in an ardent desire for complete freedom to think and act as they pleased, in matters of religion ; but, alas ! were equally earnest in the desire to make all the rest conform to them. When they had the power, fortunately for a *very* short time, they speedily arrogated to themselves more than their ancient enemies had, for they sought to impose *doctrine* as well as ceremonial on the nation. Such a party, when time had consolidated them into corporate bodies, and given them confidence from united purpose, being forbidden to meet in secret, met in public, and crowds were gathered in squares and open places to hear their preachers. The spirit of the times, and a sense of injury from the State, led their preachers to inveigh against the Government, so that when " Fifth-monarchists," " Independents," and others, publicly proclaimed the end of human monarchies, and the inauguration of the reign of the Saints ; spoke of the overthrow of the Government, and the establishment of a republic or commonwealth ; denounced the House of Lords, and assailed every department of the Government in the most severe and harsh language that hate

and a restricted vocabulary could furnish, it was not *religion* but treason that was being preached! No king could be justified in supinely allowing the Government of which he was the head to be destroyed. Charles had but one duty to perform—to punish the traitors.

From what has been said, all must admit that Charles came to the throne in an unhappy time for one who believed he was responsible to none but God for his government. It was a misfortune, not a fault, and the times in which he lived were more responsible for what followed than he himself. His *personal* faults, both as a King and a man, should not be taken into the account. He was pure in his life, a gentleman in breeding, devoted to his family and what he believed to be his duty. As compared with the infamous Georges, who displaced his race, he was almost a saint. As a person, as an individual, he was above reproach; as a ruler his faults were not so much his as those of the age. To ask a different course of action would be impossible, when we recall his training, the traditions of his class, and the unique circumstances by which he was surrounded, circumstances that no other king had been called upon to encounter. He had constitutional warrant for every act of his reign, for the English Constitution was truly *lex non-scripta*; everything being based on precedent, he had warrant in the past abundantly. The personal character of *any* of the Stuarts has nothing to do with the question of the righteousness of their dethronement, excepting so far as it influenced their management of the State. But suppose the sovereign *is* to be judged in *two* characters, as an individual and as a King, a ruler, the head of the State. Even then none can say that the Stuarts, as a class, were any worse, or any more incompetent than their successors. One Stuart lost his life, another lost his crown, both through mistakes in Government. The Hanoverians, their successors, without a good man in the five that succeeded Anne, lost America among them, and lost it through a continuance of the *same* difficulties that commenced with the first

Stuart in England. We have every reason to believe, that under the same circumstances that embarrassed Charles I., the wisest of his successors would have either met the same fate, or saved his life or crown by a deliberate act of perjury in failing to preserve the institutions of the State, as he had solemnly covenanted to do in his oath of coronation.

The assertion has been made, in many an alleged "history," that Charles I. was a "tyrant and an oppressor of his people; that he persecuted the Puritans on account of their religion; and that for these offences he was brought to trial, found guilty, and executed." To almost the entire number of our school-children, this is the sum total of their knowledge of the subject, and children of older growth will glibly repeat the same lesson, not dreaming that there can be anything on the other side of the question, or even that there *is* another side. Having briefly informed ourselves of the condition of society when Charles came to the throne, let us now dissect this arraignment, and see if there may not be some question of its literal accuracy.

"He was a tyrant, and an oppressor of his people," is the first clause in the indictment. There can be no question that in some respects, taking the bald facts without considering other circumstances, that in the attempt to collect ship-money, rule without a Parliament, and to levy and collect taxes without the authority and sanction of the legislative body, the King did what none of his immediate predecessors had attempted. Yet he had abundant precedent for what he did, without going back of the Tudor dynasty, and precedent, we know, was all that was necessary to make an act constitutional. In the state of society which he found on his accession, a prevalent dissatisfaction, without any idea of what was wanted, an absence of any precedent on his part as to the best method to meet such a state of facts, and, on the part of the people, an equal lack of precedent as to the best method to work a reformation of existing oppressive institutions, a conflict was inevitable. This did not occur in the XIX. century, with

diplomacy and politics reduced to a science, and ample experience in the ways and means by which a minority could rule a majority ; it occurred in a far different age, when precedents themselves were to be established, and the principles of political science, as we have it to-day, were awaiting creation. "Language," in a diplomatic sense, was literally "intended to conceal one's thoughts," and he was the most accomplished diplomat who could mislead his adversary the most completely, and most successfully practise dissimulation. This, I take it, all will admit; that whatever extraordinary exertions of the kingly power Charles employed, was in virtue of a power to which he could legally and morally lay claim. No Court, or Parliament, or Synod, or Convocation, or anybody competent to perform legislative function, in any sense or to any degree, proposed an alteration in the Constitution, or any restriction of the Royal prerogative. No petitions or requests had emanated from any considerable body of the people asking for any such action. The popular ferment was without any definite desire or object; no unity of sentiment existed between the numerous body of Dissenters, and others disaffected. The Roman Catholics clamored for a restoration of the Papal authority, and the destruction of the Established Church in its present form; the Dissenters demanded perfect freedom for themselves, and a conformation of the Church of England to their ideas. The Churchmen wished for the utter suppression of both Romanism and Dissent. The republicans cried for a complete revolution of the form of Government, while another party wanted communism and a redistribution of the land. It exceeded the wisdom of the age to find a way out of these difficulties without an appeal to the sword. Now, in obedience to a recognised law of nature, one already alluded to, had the change thus attempted been in answer to a recognised want, and with the concurrence of the mass of the people, the new order of things would have been permanent and enduring. It lasted barely eleven years, even then undergoing many violent changes, when the old order of things was re-established, in some respects

the worst features being intensified. The rebellion having proved a failure, therefore, the argument and conclusion would seem to be irresistible, that it was a political crime. To say the least it was premature, however necessary a change in the order of things had become. The people, in a large sense, did not desire a change, at least a change in the form attempted, and hence a failure was not only inevitable, but true reform was postponed many years. The modifications in the English government familiar to us of this day came as late as the present century, under William IV., the abuses of the personal government of George III. being directly responsible for them.

An important point now demands attention—In what respect was Charles a “tyrant?” All that Charles did to arouse the hostility of the disaffected in the kingdom, Cromwell and his abettors did likewise, with this *difference*—the King acted under a regularly delegated and lawful authority, whilst the Republicans had no such warrant. I make this statement deliberately, as a catalogue of the complaints of the disaffected may be readily made, and comparison of the acts of the Commonwealth therewith will show the absolute literalness of the assertion. The King, it was charged, attempted to rule without a Parliament; Cromwell himself did not hesitate to disperse the members with the sword. The King levied and collected taxes without the authority of the legislative body; Cromwell did precisely the same thing. The King, in obedience to the obligations of his oath, attempted to suppress treason and rebellion, by forbidding dissenting preachers to harangue the public on affairs of State; the Commonwealth destroyed the churches, drove the Clergy from their cures, and treated with the utmost harshness all who did not profess the doctrine of their followers. The King was accused of levying soldiers to rob the people of their liberty; Cromwell maintained an army such as England had never yet seen, and set up a military despotism in which questions of religious doctrine were settled by drum-head court - martial, and all departments of the Gov-

ernment ruled by the sword. Not satisfied with driving their own King from his throne, they coerced a foreign State, Scotland, into denying the crown to their legitimate sovereign. All of this, if it does nothing more, teaches that consistency and political honor were not among the virtues of the so-called "Commonwealth," as every one of the grievances complained of by their party, when subject to the laws, was transferred to the other side when they succeeded to the places of power. It was abominable for Charles to levy taxes and enlist soldiers, to aid an ally to whom he was bound by treaty, when the money and soldiers were to be used against Protestant rebels in France. It was a "crowning mercy" and a "precious privilege" for Cromwell to do the same thing if it was the Romanists of Ireland that were to be chastised. It was an unpardonable crime for a legitimate sovereign to forbid the preaching of treason under the guise of religion. It was a proper thing for a usurper of executive power to forbid religious worship in the form established by the law of the land. It appears to me that the apologists and admirers of the Commonwealth must either admit that they made a very unwise, cruel, and tyrannical use of their opportunities, or else they must satisfactorily account for the speedy collapse of a power built up at such a vast expense of blood and suffering. If nothing else can be urged in extenuation of a harsh construction of the law in the government of Charles, it must be admitted by all fair-minded people that nothing was done which his office did not give him full power and right to do, particularly as he was not on the throne under conditions, and had made no pledges to secure his accession. He asked nothing in the way of prerogative which many of his ancestors had not enjoyed, and there were no precedents opposed to his general line of policy. Cromwell, on the other hand, wielded a power even greater than a king's, repeating the worst acts of the dethroned sovereign, acts which had led to the rebellion, and which had been formulated into regular and specific charges committed to writing, filed, and pub-

lished as grievances which were to be redressed; made the platform of a party, promising to rule in a manner consistent with the highest and purest principles of Christianity. The pledge was violated, the declaration of principles deliberately trampled under foot, and every promise and declaration systematically broken or evaded. Which party had the more honorable record? Which was best entitled to the regard and confidence of honest men? To a very considerable extent, therefore, and because of these violated pledges, the vindication of the Royalists must depend upon the evidences of insincerity and inconsistency of their opponents; for when we find a party raised to power in the State deliberately ignoring and violating the pledges by which they had gained this power, it is not unfair to assume that these pledges were given without the intention to fulfil, were manufactured simply as convenient weapons to use against their adversaries. Accordingly, we find that while the dissenters of the Puritan sort inveighed against a hereditary peerage, they took good care to make a peerage of their own, and to model it upon the old principle. Whilst they loudly declaimed against the son's succeeding his father as ruler, only because he *was* his father's son, it was provided by law that Richard Cromwell, *as the son of Oliver*, should succeed his father, and that *his* son, should he have one, should succeed him, succeed him not because he *was worthy*—for he was notoriously incompetent—but because he was Oliver's son. Whilst their party esteemed titles of honor, particularly when hereditary, as inconsistent with free institutions, they soon made Cromwell "Lord Protector" with title of "Excellency," and that his son should succeed to it as naturally as any lord's son should succeed to his father's title and estate. Whilst the chief outcry against Charles was his defiance of parliamentary control and the assumption of legislative function, Cromwell did not hesitate to march soldiers into the halls of legislature, and drive out the members by force of arms. The malcontents were very earnest about the King's assaults on the Constitu-

tion, yet they formally, by simple vote, abolished the Upper House when it would serve their turn. The King was forced to descend from his throne in England, and yet Scotland was threatened with war when she recognised his rights to the throne of that kingdom. All this, and much more, was done in violation of the solemn pledges given at the commencement of the rebellion, and while unpardonable, and, it would seem, incapable of extenuation, might perhaps have been less worthy of execration had the rebels represented the popular sentiment, or the majority of the nation. They did not represent this majority, as the construction of the Commons, already alluded to, would show. It will be profitable, therefore, to inquire how a minority managed to hold a majority in such complete subjection.

In all countries where a standing army is an institution, there is necessarily a class of professional soldiers, men whose lives are devoted to their calling. The result is, among other and minor matters, that two facts at once attract the attention of those who are unfamiliar with such an institution: First, the army is expected to do all the fighting and other military duty; secondly, the soldiery is vastly superior to a purely volunteer militia. These results are largely due to the development of what is really a *science* of war, which must be the case where a large body of men are engaged in such studies, and to the popular appreciation of that fact. In our own late war it will not require extended reading to show that the real, the substantial results were always obtained by professional soldiers. This is not at all to the disparagement of the volunteer officers; they did noble service in their stations, carrying out the plans conceived by those who had made war the study and business of their lives. Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Meade, Hancock, Hooker, Thomas, McPherson, and others, who were the originators of campaigns, were all of the professional class. I cannot recall an important operation that was not planned and worked out by a soldier by profession. *Men* are pretty much the same everywhere; it is the leader, the head, that wins victory.

Without men a general could obviously do nothing; with an incompetent general the best equipped army will fail. History is too full of examples to need particularisation; the career of the Duke of Marlborough is an eminently instructive one.

Now, in England, after the decline of feudalism, the army was barely sufficient in numbers to furnish guards for the royal palaces, and to keep the few forts in order. Every proposition to augment the forces was met with vigorous opposition, and the trade of war almost died out. Educated soldiers offered their swords to foreign powers; those with a taste for military pursuits went abroad to acquire knowledge. The defence of the country was entrusted entirely to militia and county volunteers. Such a force is admirable as a nucleus for army organisation, when the call to arms is made; but without a body of professional soldiers, from which to draw commanders, all history shows its utter inefficiency in regular warlike operations when brought face to face with regular troops. The danger to which other governments had been exposed, by the use of their armies for purposes of oppression, had early prejudiced England against a standing force, the people not choosing to put such a formidable weapon in the hands of their kings. This jealousy and prejudice was greatly increased by the tyranny of the army during the Commonwealth, even to the disgust of the parliamentary party. James II. incurred the hostility of the Whigs by attempting to raise a force, and William and Mary were equally unpopular with the Tories for the same reason. It was not until the time of George III. that opposition to the granting of army supplies ceased.

This hostility to a regular army naturally operated to prevent the cultivation of the military art, although now and then some one would give evidence of the possession of a genius for command, as occurred notably in the case of Cromwell. A thoroughly disciplined, fully equipped, and ably commanded army, therefore, officered by soldiers such as Essex, Fairfax, Leslie, and many others, who had learned their trade under the great

captains of Europe, and later by the genius of Cromwell, was a power that an unmilitary nation had no means to resist. Handled with vigor, as the agent of a considerable party in the country, an army of 50,000 men found no difficulty in effectually putting down all resistance, and the fears of the Conservatives were abundantly justified when they found the country and the laws prostrate under the iron heel of a military despot. That the sword, in those days, in accomplished hands was an almost irresistible power, witness the speedy collapse of the Cromwell dynasty when it passed into the weak hands of Richard! Again, recall the re-establishment of the Stuarts on the throne by General Monk, even whilst the spirit and numbers of the Parliamentarians was still what it was in the days of their greatest power! They had everything that they ever had—the administration of the government, the army, and all the advantages growing out of possession, but they lacked the genius of their old general. The army drove the King from the throne; the very same army brought him back again. In each instance, numerically, it was not as one to an hundred of the rest of the population; but skill, knowledge, discipline, and obedience to a controlling and commanding genius made the few masters of the many. The cities in 1640 were few in number, and their population small; all of them together scarcely contained as many people as now live in London alone. The smaller towns had a scanty population, largely of the rustic class. The chief strength of the Commonwealth party was in the cities; the offices of the Government and all the machinery of State were in London, so that with the chief cities in their possession, with the forts and military posts garrisoned with their troops, the unarmed, ignorant, and unorganised peasantry and common people, inhabiting small towns widely separate, communication difficult, and means for transmitting intelligence primitive and inadequate, could do little to oppose the march of rebellion, and were compelled to subjection to the will of a powerful, organised, ably commanded minority.

With a knowledge of facts such as these, and with a comprehension of the conditions of society then existing, it must cease to be a mystery why, if the cause of the Parliament was not a popular one, did not represent popular will and sentiment, it came so near success. Unquestionably, in the commencement of the disturbances, many gave acquiescence to the opposition party because it was pleasant to feel that the people had the power to make themselves heard and respected. It is likewise true that the murder of the King, and the anarchy that followed that crime, appalled the mass of the nation, and re-established the old sentiment of loyalty. Cromwell was to that conflict, in furnishing a commanding genius for leadership, what Marlborough was to the wars of Queen Anne, Washington to our own rebellion, Wellington to the Napoleonic downfall, or Grant in our late civil war. The destruction of an army, in the days of the Cromwellian rebellion, was an almost irretrievable disaster; and the loss of one great battle cost Charles both his throne and his life.

I cheerfully and willingly concede the military skill, yes, even *genius*, of Cromwell; his power to influence large bodies of men was remarkable, and only to be accounted for by admitting his personal superiority to those with whom he was associated. But this admission does not carry with it an admission of moral worth, purity of character, or honesty of purpose. Some one has said that the heat of political strife "leads men to deify their leaders, and demonise their opponents." This was never more completely verified than in the popular appreciation of the two central figures in this unhappy conflict. The historians of these events, both contemporary and recent, all bear witness to the personal high character of Charles, and to the dissembling, inscrutable, and even unscrupulous character of his adversary. Yet the one is loaded with an infamy that he does not merit, and the other with laudation and praise that he is very far from deserving. Success made the one respectable; defeat did not fail to dim the reputation of the other. One was representative of law, order, and long-

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established custom; the other of anarchy, and an aimless and purposeless spirit of unrest. *Aimless*, in that the death of the King found his murderers without a policy, and without a definite scheme for government; purposeless, in that in eleven short years there was a government by a Parliament, by a Protector, again by a Parliament, by a Committee, by the Army, once more a Protector, and a final restoration of the King.

To sum up the charge of tyranny, what were the worst acts of Charles, as compared with the every-day acts of his successors? The sports and diversions of the people were forbidden by law; the May-poles cut down; painting, sculpture, music, and architecture declared to be opposed to the teachings of the Gospel. The moral persecutions of the Puritan preachers were retaliated by the horrible massacre of Tredah, in Ireland; a massacre in which neither age nor sex was spared from the sword; a massacre equal in atrocity to some that have been witnessed on our Western borders, but which Cromwell, the Christian, the apostle of the party of religious freedom, reported to the Parliament as a "crowning mercy," a "most precious outpouring," and with other pious phrases in the cant of the day! The whole history of the Stuarts in England, even the infamous "bloody circuit" of Jeffreys, does not furnish a parallel to this savage atrocity. As far as oppression and tyranny under Charles was concerned, at the very worst it was the widest freedom, when compared with the military government of Cromwell. Every page of the Commonwealth history is stained with blood, the blood of young and old, men and women; the restoration of Charles II. was hailed from one end of the kingdom to the other as a delivery from the rule of tyrants equally despotic and irresponsible with the Czars of Muscovy.

The second item in the popular catalogue of charges can be disposed of in a very few words. "He persecuted the Puritans on account of their religion," say the veracious historians referred to earlier. We have seen already that the "religion" which was being preached

in the streets to excited mobs was not the sort preached by the men of old in Judea. It was oftener a political harangue, inflaming the populace to acts of violence, and appealing to the worst passions of mankind. There can be no question, no man can ignore it, that there were many earnest and God-fearing men in the ranks of the Dissenters. There can also be no doubt that they drew to themselves many with motives less pure, who assumed the "livery of heaven to serve the devil in." The revelations of the scandalous plot of Oates conclusively showed many of the worst scoundrels in the history of the world masquerading in the guise of sectarian preachers. They brought reproach upon their honest associates, and probably the injury done will never be atoned. There is misapprehension on both sides. Popular writers of the day picture the Puritans as either hypocrites or fanatics, and the Royalists as debauchés and cutthroats. Of course the stronger party would attract the rabble, and they must conform to the character of their leaders. The dissolute are forced into the other side, but it would be unjust to judge either by these sorry specimens. To all intents and purposes, having a proper regard for the space at our disposal, I must simply reiterate a former statement, that it was not religion, but treason in its guise that Charles sought to punish. The doctrines of the Dissenters make it difficult, even now, to say where one ended and the other began; their religion was treason, and their treason was religion.

But we must hasten to the final clause in the indictment. We are told that he was "brought to trial, found guilty, condemned, and executed." It is proper to inquire as to the construction of the "Court" that "tried" him, and their authority for such an act. We shall find that the court barely rose to the dignity of one of "Lynch law," for it did not by any means represent public opinion, nor did it even assume to do so. In the outset of this branch of our inquiry, let us remember that the party in power did not in any sense represent the majority of the people; they did not even represent the better, the intellectual part. They were purely a

n which the force of circumstances had invested power. When a people—as occurred in our own Revolution, or the Revolution in England which called James and Mary to the throne—with substantial unanimity change the form of government, and in purely popular conventions assume to legislate as regularly sanctioned by the mass of their countrymen, none will question the legality and binding force of their acts, if all the old order of things is swept away. But it was not the case when the Parliament, so called, in England usurped sole powers, and constituted itself legislative, judicial, and executive at the same time. There is no lack of evidence that they were bitterly resented by the vast majority of the nation. They were not a parliament in any ordinary sense of the word. After the fatal battle of Naseby, the Royalist army was completely destroyed, and the military power of the King apparently broken without a possibility of revival. Charles put himself in the hands of the Scots, and formed a portion of the Cromwellian army. Owing to disputes between the Scotch troops and the Parliament, with reference to arrears of pay, the former were on the point of withdrawing from their alliance, and retreating back into Scotland with their own King. It was settled, however, to the infamy of the Scots, by an agreement to deliver up the King to the English in payment of all arrears. So infamous was this arrangement, although the Scots and their historians long sought to make it appear that there were stipulations for the safety of the King's person—that the Parliament of Scotland voted that the King should be protected, and his liberty insisted on. The *Official Parliamentary History* [vol. xv., p. 243] states that the *assembly*, a congregation of ministers, men who were accustomed to be preaching the Gospel of the Master, and the patterns of Christian virtue; who, in Puritan times, were a power superior to the civil authorities, and rivalled the old enemy, the Pope, in arrogance, and not seldom made cruel uses made of this power—this “assembly” supplanted the Parliament, and I quote the exact lan-

guage, "That, as he had refused to take the covenant which was pressed on him, it became not the godly to concern themselves about his fortunes." The vote was therefore reconsidered, and the former action annulled. We have here an admirable illustration of the universality of the reign of the law of compensation, in matters social and political, as well as physical. The nation that made this iniquitous bargain atoned for it in blood and desolation. The sellers of their King met death and persecution at the hands of Claverhouse, Montrose, Mar, and Murray in succeeding years; death on the gallows, in the torture-chamber, and on the field of battle; they lost life, estate, and country, and suffered the extremity of human endurance. The followers of the King, who had the power but lacked the courage to oppose the infamous Assembly, and in this respect were only second in guilt to the dominant party, had their term of suffering, which only terminated an hundred years afterward, when the brutal Duke of Cumberland massacred his starved and wounded prisoners on the fatal field of Culloden, and the Earl of Kilmarnock with Lords Lovat and Balmarino were beheaded on Tower Hill.

The King being in their power, it was long a question what disposition they should make of him. The Puritan preachers and their fanatical followers clamored for his blood; the Presbyterians wished for a peaceful treaty, and a stable settlement of all their grievances, without incurring what the whole world, except the Cromwellians, considered the *awful* crime of regicide. These last, the Cromwellians, had the desire to exterminate the royal family, including Queen and children, in the ruin of husband and father—as they put it, in their customary language, "make root and branch work, and leave not one of the bloody house of the malignants to cumber the ground!" This specimen of their doctrine reveals a fact that should not be forgotten. The most superficial reader of history is familiar with the peculiar and offensive language affected by the Puritans. Under the guise of Biblical phraseology and imagery, they

justified acts that were opposed to every principle of civilisation and morality, to say nothing of Christianity. They found warrant in *their* Bible for any deed of blood; the massacre of men, women, and children at Tredah, the murder of their King, the extirpation of his family, or the capital execution of offenders against their doctrinal theology. Ridiculing the covenant was as unpardonable an offence to them as insulting the Host would be to the Romanist, and they rivalled, if not excelled, their papal predecessors in their treatment of such offenders. They found no warrant in the *New Testament* for such atrocities, and consequently almost ignored it. Their precedents were all drawn from the *Old Testament*; they were, as far as logic, language, and practice went, *anti-Christian*; charity, meekness, forgiveness—in short, the Golden Rule of the New Dispensation—were unknown to their policy! There were no prayers for their enemies heard in their conventicles; nothing but petitions for swift and terrible punishment, for the extermination of their foes! In nothing but their professions could they lay any claim to be followers of the Man of Sorrows! This inconsistency, this want of harmony between actions and professions, none can deny, or, it would seem, palliate; to claim Christian attributes and characters, and yet in every act rivalling the savages of our Western plains, makes reconciliation of their professions and actions impossible.

But to return. The Parliament found themselves with the King in their power, and did not dare put him to death, banish him, imprison him, or restore him to his authority. Without a precedent for the trial of a king, they could only put him on his defence as if he were a nobleman. In this case, the articles of impeachment would originate in the Commons, go to the Peers for examination, or a commission of Peers granted by the Crown, or a duly authorised council of regency. The Peers, in the present instance, would either not receive the articles, or quickly acquit their head. The first step, therefore, was to abolish the House of Lords! This was done by a simple vote. There was no coun-

cil of regency, and the King could not issue a commission to try himself. The Commons themselves, therefore, must impeach, try, and pass judgment. Alas for them! The Commons, as the House was then organised, would have quickly dismissed all charges, and acquitted a King whom many loved, some revered as the anointed ruler of the realm, and more pitied as a man brought into great trouble not entirely through his own fault. But one thing remained to be done—the Commons must be purged, a court and jury must be packed! There were about 350 members, and only 50 could be depended on. How could this small party coerce their colleagues? Why, in this honest, Christian, GOD-fearing fashion!

Colonel Pride was stationed in the Lobby of the House of Commons with a body of soldiers, furnished with a list of the names of over 300 members who were considered certain to vote against the wish of the conspirators. These were arrested and imprisoned as they passed out, leaving less than a quorum, 50, in the House. These 50 were the "court!" they gravely asserted that they were "Parliament." Now, without wishing to play upon words, let us ask, What *is* Parliament? It is definitely stated to be "King, Lords, and Commons." The King was a prisoner, and deprived of his authority. The Lords had been abolished by simple vote of the lower House. The Commons themselves had been invaded by soldiers, who imprisoned upward of 300 of the members! Hence there was no Parliament, and the assertion that the King was tried by such a body is a literal falsehood. That he was tried by *any* body representing public opinion, or in any sense competent to perform judicial function, is equally false. The Royalist affirms—and few, if any, dispute it—that, even with the House of Commons full, they were not representative of the sense of the nation; were the contrary true, judged from the actions and statements of the Cromwellians, the King would have been acquitted. Parliament had been assembled in 1641; they had now been in session eight years, ample time for a radical change in popular feeling.

As soon as active hostilities commenced, if a new election, a *free* election, had been had, there is little doubt that the rebels would have had a very sorry representation. When this Parliament was called, admitting (for the sake of argument only) that they were popular representatives, the sole desire was to restrict the royal prerogative; the imprisonment of six-sevenths of their number surely effectually destroyed their representative character. This fact is insurmountable proof that an immense majority of the Commons were out of sympathy with the Cromwellians, and makes good the assertion that the 50 remaining were only a faction of a faction.

This was the "court" that assumed to "try" the King! But, to give a show and pretence of fairness, they voted that "*enough officers of the army*" and persons from civil life should be joined with them to raise the number to 150. These additional 100 "members" were not elected by the people, nor by the House of Commons; they were elected by the self-appointed committee of 50, a committee originating in an unpardonable breach of privilege and military dictation. The additional members selected were of like mind with the original conspirators, and the "court," as the books call it, was organised.

The charges upon which the King was tried included one of "treason." Against whom was this alleged treason committed? Law, custom, and tradition made treason an act "against the authority of the King's majesty!" It may well be asked if the King could commit an act of treason against himself. The only power that was, in theory, superior to the King's, was the power that *made* him King, and under whose authority and appointment he reigned! This power was GOD! But in a case like this, sophistry did not lack ways and means to accomplish its ends.

The King properly denied the authority of this "court" to try him, or to perform *any* act of a legislative, much less a judicial, character. It is doubtful if any, even in those days, justified in their conscience what was done

on any other ground than pure expediency. The members of the "court" knew that the whole thing was an outrageous violation of law, custom, and common decency; they were conscious that the verdict was already determined on, that the hearing of testimony, and the going through the forms of a trial, was a travesty on justice. When the inevitable judgment was reached, and the King condemned to lose his life, there was a want of dignity and decorum in this iniquitous "court" that would have disgraced the hearing of a petty case before a Justice of the Peace. One of the members approached the table to sign the paper, and with his pen inked the face of Cromwell, who was standing near—the contemporary accounts tell us, "much to the merriment of the spectators!" Cromwell retaliated in kind, when *his* turn came, and this judicial outrage concluded in an ignoble farce. Within twenty-four hours after signing the warrant, signed in levity, as we have seen, the King was led out to die.

If the meagre accounts given us in the popular "histories" are to be believed, this last act in the tragedy was witnessed with approval by a vast multitude of people; but a perusal of the narratives of that date give an entirely different story. We there read that the scaffold was surrounded by soldiers three deep, guns loaded and swords drawn. The two men who executed the sentence of that counterfeit "court" were disguised, and their faces appropriately hidden. The people stood around in dense crowds, the very housetops and windows thronged. There was no disorder, no noise, everything hushed in expectation. When the King appeared on the fatal boards, the multitude broke into sobs and groans; women fainted, and men wrung their hands, says Evelyn, "in helpless despair." When the murder was accomplished, and the ghastly head held up to the view of the people, the soldiers immediately wheeled and charged into the crowd, driving them into the houses and clearing the streets. For the rest of the day the public places were deserted, the houses closed. No smoke came from the chimneys, and no light shone

from the windows when night came. The city was in mourning, and not a sign of approval was made except by the soldiers, who preached long sermons from Old Testament texts, in which precedents for murder and savage revenge were plentiful.

It is needless to pursue an argument based upon facts such as these ; the facts are indisputable, and would not seem to admit of palliation or excuse. The purposes of partial historians can only be served by expurgation, or oblivion to what is patent to all who care to look for it. No better commentary can be made than by pointing to the utter failure of the rebellion, the extinction of the Commonwealth in a few years, and the complete disappearance of any remains of their policy or teachings in a few generations. In some parts of Scotland there were traces of this gloomy, revengeful, and bloodthirsty theology for some time, but to-day it is only known in that last stronghold as a ghost that has lingered too long on the stage of action. In the new world, particularly (perhaps exclusively) in New England, the struggle was hard and bitter ; but to-day it is doubtful if a trace of Puritanism in an organised form can be found in the country. I know that certain denominations assume to be lineal descendants of the Puritans ; I know that many bodies of Christian people imagine that the mantle of Puritanism has fallen upon them. It is doubtful if the ancestors would recognise the descendants. It is probable that, if a Puritan church of to-day could be carried back unchanged into a Puritan settlement of three hundred years ago, the moderns would find themselves in prison within twenty-four hours ; perhaps at the whipping-post, or in the pillory ; some of them unquestionably would lose an ear or a tongue, or have their faces branded, or perhaps even given over to die, as contemners of the covenant or revilers of the saints ! Conceive a Puritan of the XVII. century entering a church of his descendants to-day ! What would he think of the organ ? when he had spent his life in demolishing those "unholy boxes of whistles." What would he think of an ungodly choir, singing uninspired

hymns? What would be his sensations when he came to the kitchen, the parlor, the dining-room, or, as is found in a house of worship in New York State, the billiard-room and the *stage*, with all its scenery, footlights, and machinery in most unsaintly perfection? Do you imagine the dress of the young people, their unrestrained manners, their dancing, card-playing, games of chance, picnics, excursions, novel-reading, and piano-playing would meet his approval? Ah! we may well thank GOD that the Commonwealth is dead, and their policy with them! Such a community in any country to-day would be a blight on the land. They had their part to play in the scheme of social and political evolution; they have completed their mission, and the world has gladly seen them disappear from its sight.

It will be proper, before closing, therefore, to very briefly inquire what that mission was. With all its faults, stained with blood and blackened with crimes though it be, the Commonwealth was the legitimate parent of Republicanism, as we see it in this free land of ours. It gave the first blow at personal irresponsible government; it formulated maxims that were meaningless to them, except for their own selfish and personal ends, which have grown and developed into all that modern Republicanism holds most dear. "Freedom to worship GOD" was one of their watchwords; but to them it meant freedom for themselves, subserviency for the rest of the world. So, while good fruit has been born of the seed sown, it is not equally true that the act or manner of sowing was good. To use a time-honored quotation, "they builded wiser than they knew;" yes, wiser than they *meant*. The execution of the King was a foul act of murder; the effect was to cause future kings to listen to the voice of their people.

There is a class of people, happily few in number and daily diminishing, who are very decided in their opposition to works of fiction. They make no distinction between the trashy and unwholesome novels of a Southworth and the grand conceptions of a Scott. *Good* fiction is not only necessary in disciplining the mind,

and improving taste and culture, but is essential to the student of history as filling many gaps left by the formal historian. History has to do very largely with the affairs of nations; fiction, of the higher order, with the affairs of individuals. Indeed, no less a historian than the distinguished Robertson uses the following remarkable language, in his *History of Scotland* [ed. 1787, p. 131], speaking of the murder of Rizzio, Secretary of Queen Mary:

The low birth and indigent condition of this man placed him in a station in which he ought naturally to have remained unknown to posterity. But what fortune called him to act and to suffer in Scotland, obliges history to descend from its dignity, and to record his adventures.

If our knowledge of an era is derived solely from formal works of history, we gain a very inadequate understanding of all the springs of action, of the state of society that made events possible that are worthy of historical notice. So, in reading the history of the Cromwellian rebellion, if Hume, Smollett, Evelyn, Pepys, Burnet, Clarendon, or others form the sources of our information, we will know little of the transactions there recorded other than as they have a purely political significance. Supplement this with Thackeray's *Esmond* and *Virginians*; Scott's *Woodstock*, *Montrose*, or *Old Mortality*; read Ainsworth's *Tower of London*, *Guy Fawkes*, or *Court of St. James*; do not forget Fielding and authors of the day; and in the sorrows and tribulations of the heroes and heroines we learn the feelings, manners, customs, morals, occupations, and amusements of the nation, as an aggregation of individuals, that no other form of literature can furnish. Looking for information in all these various channels, we soon find that Puritanism never had deep root in the hearts of the English people. The books that most of our children are given to read are full of accounts of the sufferings of the Puritans, whose "persecution" was oftener moral than physical. Not a word is said of the equal, or even greater, sufferings of the Royalists; martyrdom was not all on one side. We learn that when

all traces of the Commonwealth had disappeared in England, whatever might have been the case in Scotland, the spirit of loyalty to the exiled Stuarts withstood all assaults on its constancy, outlived persecution and outrage, and braved destruction long after the institutions of the State had been established in an enduring form, a form inimical to the traditions of the Stuarts. The Clergy cheerfully submitted to expulsion from their cures for refusing to conform to the ordinances of what they considered usurpation; went from affluence into poverty without a thought of renouncing their faith in the Divine Right of Kings. Officers in the army and navy, crippled with wounds, and incapable of earning a livelihood in peaceful callings, laid down their commissions, and finished their lives in penury and privation, rather than take the oaths of fealty to those who had no claim on their services or loyalty, as they believed. Noblemen, risking attainder, by which they lost land and title, not only for themselves, but for their children and descendants, gladly drew the sword, when commanded by him they considered their rightful prince; they ascended the scaffold in multitudes, or died prisoners within the gloomy walls of the Tower, without a regret, and, strange to say, with the full and perfect sympathy of those who had been impoverished and disfranchised by their act. There was scarce one of those whom the implacable Hanoverians caused to be executed for treason to the new order of government, large as the number was, who in any sense expressed regret for what he had done, or could be induced to ask for clemency under promise of adjuration of the Stuarts. To what and to whom was all this loyalty offered? Not to the *person* of any of the Stuarts, but to the principle of which they were the incarnation. It was to the doctrine of legitimate heirship, and that kings reigned by Divine right! Of course, we, as Republicans and Americans, can have but little if any sympathy with a cause such as this; yet we can and *must* admire the devotion and constancy, the brave endurance of suffering and death, for a principle that the Jacobites exhibited. We must believe that such con-

stancy and loyalty could not be exhibited in or inspired by a cause so utterly worthless as the popular historians would have us believe it to be. We may truly affirm that Charles I. died a martyr ; and that the thousands who, for nearly 200 years, faced death, ruin, and exile at the bidding of his successors, are not to be considered thoughtless and restless adventurers, or men acting other than from deep-rooted principle, in obedience to the dictates of their conscience. This devotion to a hopeless cause, commencing in 1640, continued unabated down to the last attempt of the exiled house, in 1790 ; and was a deeply rooted sentiment, simply wanting a way and form of expression, when the last of the race expired, in the person of Cardinal York, in 1808. This left George III., then incumbent of the throne, the legitimate heir of the elder, as he had been of the younger branch of the Stuarts when he came to the Crown. The struggle is now over ; for, by a singular state of facts, Queen Victoria reigns as the lineal descendant and direct heir of all the contending houses of former times. Lancaster, York, Tudor, Stuart, and Hanover, all end in her, making it doubtful if there is ever again a struggle for the Crown of England.

J. G. GILCHRIST.

MARRIAGE WITH A DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER.

IN view of the course which this question has been made to take, since the enactment of the statute of Henry VIII., 1533, and, moreover, in consideration of the shape which it has assumed in the minds of the majority of the best educated of the English people, in and out of the Church, it is remarkable, and withal significant, that at this late day it should be thought wise and expedient to introduce it for discussion into the councils of the American Church. In England 300 years have sufficed to test its religious bearings, and it is now about to receive, in that country, its final decision.

Though a disingenuous attempt has been made to associate the question with the crying evil of divorce, no one has, as yet, ventured on the task of showing that these marriages have promoted that crime, or that they are in the least manner related to it. Placing a right estimate upon the intelligence of the modern Church, had the question been permitted to stand on its own merits, and weighed only in the light of Scripture, disentangled from preconceived opinions and political exigency, it might long ago have gone to rest, and the Church have been spared much harmful criticism.

While we would not impugn the motives of those who are endeavoring to make the 99 Canon of the English Church obligatory on this Church, yet it cannot be denied that, on the part of a few, there is a growing tendency to affect English manners and English extravagances, "to follow the example of our English ancestors and relatives on the other side of the Atlantic." Undue and a suicidal stress is placed upon the statement made

in the Preface to the Prayer Book: "This Church is far from intending to depart from the Church of England in any essential point of doctrine, discipline, or worship." The word essential, in this passage, declares that this Church does not abandon herself to blind tradition, but that while she would look to her mother for a guide, yet that she intended to reserve the right to determine for herself what is and what is not essential "in doctrine, discipline, and worship." That she has exercised this right the compilation of the Prayer Book is sufficient evidence, and just at the present time still more emphasis is being given to it, in the general feeling that the time has already come when there must be a revision of that book.

Those who would make binding on this Church the English Table of Affinities, the marriage with a deceased wife's sister inclusive, claim that it is the expression of God's Word, and that all marriages contracted within the degrees therein mentioned are *incestuous* and sinful, and moreover that that table is confirmed by the Vincentian Rule; and furthermore, they claim that it is binding on this Church, *because* it is a Canon of the English Church. If these claims can be substantiated they ought to be conclusive as to the duty of this Church in council and in practice, though for 100 years she has got along tolerably well without being mindful of it. It must be remembered, however, that on any important subject of duty and conscience assertion will not be accepted as proof. The time is no more when the mere dogmatism of one or many, in ancient or recent times, will be received as a creed in which the soul can hope to find satisfaction and rest. And, in the American Church, the time has never been when it has been thought necessary to shape belief in things spiritual by demands of political exigency. If in this respect England has suffered herself to be seduced—as it is evident that she has done—it is to be hoped that this Church, being independent of the intrigues of politics, and being influenced by a broader and more correct criticism, may not, by any specious argument, be betrayed into an unreserved following of England's example. At any rate, we

have a right to expect that she will not suffer hundreds of her devout and earnest children to be branded with the opprobrious stigma of incest, because of English Canon or English custom. Nor yet because of tradition or of an unnatural and forced interpretation of Scripture. If the literature growing out of this subject is not to be mistaken, the first of the claims—just now cited, that based on Scripture—was abandoned long ago by an overwhelming majority of the leading and best minds in the Church of England. The ablest criticism has shown it to be untenable. It might, therefore, be relegated to issues settled, an object of interest only for the antiquarian. But inasmuch as it is attempted to revive and reclothe it in its worn out garments, it will be necessary to give it some little critical attention.

There are but few passages in Scripture that have any bearing upon the question, directly or indirectly. The most important one of these passages is disposed of by the author of *Kindred and Affinity* somewhat more summarily than might be expected of candid criticism.

It is said that *Leviticus* xviii. 18 speaks *only* of polygamy, and that it does not concern the question of marriage with a deceased wife's sister. The method by which it is attempted to sustain this assertion is remarkably ingenious, though by no means unusual. It is based on the meaning given to the word sister, *achoth*. It is affirmed that the *fundamental* meaning of this term is *another, another woman, or another thing*. The marginal reading of the English translators and *Exodus* xxvi. 3 are cited in proof of this affirmation.

Achoth is used instead of or for the word *another*, but only metonymically, as when it is said, "Sleep is the sister of death;" or, as when Job says of the worm, "Thou art my sister;" or Solomon, "Say unto wisdom, Thou art my sister;" or in the sense in which we may and sometimes do speak of two like things placed side by side, as in the couplings of the curtains of the tabernacle. In no other way than this can the word be translated *another*. Its *fundamental* meaning is sister, child

of the same parents. And this is its meaning in every place where it is used in this chapter. Moses is speaking of a relationship by consanguinity. Furthermore, the law allowed more wives than one, hence to marry *another wife* could not be the prohibition intended in the eighteenth verse. To affirm with Mr. Forster that the term "never designates the blood relationship of two brothers or two sisters" is one of the extremes of perverted criticism. What there is so peculiar in the "Hebrew idiom" as to render it necessary to translate the term in this verse differently from what it will bear in the other verses of this chapter Mr. Forster does not state, though he *affirms* it as a fact. But how would he translate ἐπὶ ἀδελφῇ αὐτῆς of the LXX.; or *sororem uxoris tuæ* of the Vulgate; or "deines Weibes Schwester" of Luther? Where are the remarkable passages, to which he alludes, to be found? *אֶתְּ* (a-coth)—*אֶתְּ* (i-shā) is an idiomatic expression and means *one—the other*, but the form determines what is the *one* and what *the other*—here the one sister to another sister. No, the language is plain and emphatic, "A woman unto a sister of her thou shalt not take, for a vexing, to uncover her nakedness while she yet lives." If relationship by blood is not to be understood here, as elsewhere, the teaching of the verse and the chapter is unintelligible. The Bishop of Lincoln's visitation address, notwithstanding the prohibition, is against polygamy, but polygamy with a living wife's sister.

It is attempted to dispose of the clause "while she is yet living," by connecting with the word in Hebrew translated "to vex her." Of all the men who have had a hand in transmitting to us the sacred text of the Old Testament Scriptures, the Massorites are the most to be depended upon for their verbal accuracy and the meaning or connection of the words in the text indicated by its interpunctuation. The pointing which they have given to this verse is undubitable evidence that they considered that clause as joined in thought with the two preceding words as they stand in the Hebrew text. The implication, then, is clear and unequivocal, only when

thy wife is dead will you be allowed to uncover the nakedness of her sister.

It is asserted that the words "They shall be one flesh," means, that by the official exchange of marriage vows, the flesh of the man and the flesh of the woman become mysteriously identified, that by this union is created "a new flesh, a *compound* flesh." It is said that there are many things in Scripture hard to be understood; but it is doubtful if any can be found therein from the B^c-rē-sheth of *Genesis* to the Alpha and Omega of Revelation that puts to its tension the comprehensive faculty, commensurate with this statement—not excepting the Blessed Trinity, and the implications of Holy Scripture. It is not the expression of a Scripture truth, but a subtlety of metaphysics, and, as such, it might be dismissed, together with other like vagaries, were it not also asserted that, by virtue of the married union, the wife's sister's flesh undergoes a similar transformation.

For exact expression it would seem that no language could be more concise and comprehensible than that of *Genesis* ii. 24. It is that of the every-day practical life and suited to the understanding of the common mind. וְהָיוּ לְבָשָׂר אֶחָד, or by transliteration, V^c-ha-u l^c bhā-sār 'aē-had—they shall be *as* flesh one—not *one* flesh, but *as* one flesh. An equivalent expression is found in *Deuteronomy* vi. 8, "thou shalt bind them *as* a sign." This is no uncommon use of the preposition, לְ—l^c—and it never signifies identity, nor anything like it. In the LXX. the passage is translated, ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν. Here, also, the preposition means *as*, *as it were*, *as though*. This is the interpretation that Winer gives to both the Hebrew and the Greek, citing that very passage, as used by our LORD in *Matthew* xix. 5, and by S. Paul in *1 Corinthians* vi. 16, *Ephesians* v. 31, and *1 Corinthians* iv. 3, "for me it is *as* the least thing," and *Acts* xix. 27, "to be considered *as* nothing," and *Romans* ii. 26, "shall not his uncircumcision be *as*, or *for* circumcision?" Winer remarks that the Hebrew preposition in the passage referred to, *Matthew* xix. 5, and translated, εἰς, corresponds to our word *serve*, as in αἰ

γλῶσσαι εἰς σημεῖον εἰσίν, "the tongues *are*, or *serve*, for a sign." To marry, in classical Greek, is ἀγειν εἰς γυναῖκα, "to lead away *for* a wife." References to the usage of these prepositions with the substantive verb and elsewhere, could be multiplied indefinitely, and as the correct interpretation of the language, in *Genesis* ii. 24, depends upon the meaning given to them, they must receive careful consideration. The author of *Kindred and Affinity* does give a thought to εἰς, but he puts it to a very novel use. He translates, "They shall become *into* one flesh." That is an impossible use of the word in that connection. One can be said to go into the house, or that he is "baptised into the Holy Name;" but he cannot say, "he *is into* the house, nor that he *is into* the Holy Name." That language would be no better than the gamin's patois. The two shall be "into one flesh," is not Hebrew, nor Greek, nor English.

One more serious misuse of a preposition. The above-mentioned author says that וּבָשָׂר מִבָּשָׂר, "and Flesh of my Flesh" means "not taken *out* of, but brought to the man." No such construction can be given to the construct form of the Hebrew in that clause, nor yet to the preposition ἐκ of the Greek, nor yet to the phrase *caro de carne mea* of the Vulgate. It is to be regretted that no citations are made confirming an assertion so contrary to the general usage of these languages. If the words of Scripture can be thus distorted out of their primary meaning in the service of preconceived opinion, how is it possible for them to be a guide for life or for doctrine? In that case, one may say, if it so pleases him, "It is not the man's flesh, nor the woman's flesh; it is a new flesh, a *compound* Flesh." It is very possible that such disquisition may furnish diversion for an imaginative and metaphysical mind, but it is certain that it can give little satisfaction to him who desires to know the truth of Revelation; neither can it be said that it comes under the head of exegesis.

In confirmation of the interpretation of *Genesis* ii. 24, the use of the passage, made by Our LORD and S. Paul,

is cited. But, in *Matthew* xix. 5, the Master censures the trifling which was wont to display itself, concerning the marriage relation. And so in part that is S. Paul's object. Marriage is a *covenant* relation—in no inferior sense it is a Sacrament, wherein two parties are *bound* together, not amalgamated, but *bound* indissolubly. It is a union, in which all the joys and sorrows of life are to be equally shared and endured, just as if the two were but one person—all interests and all affections, being blended together, “and, therefore, is not to be entered into unadvisedly or lightly.” It implies a unity similar to that for which Our LORD prayed, “that *they* may be one”—they, the disciples—“even as we are one; and S. Paul, 1 *Corinthians* x. 17, “For we, being many, are one bread and one body.” There is not the slightest evidence that Our LORD or S. Paul was thinking of any other kind of union than here indicated—a union of sentiment and love. S. Paul quotes the passage in order, as nearly as possible, to illustrate the spiritual relationship of the Master to His Church and to His disciples. The exhortation to love their wives is apart from his main purpose. He does not say that *marriage* is a mystery. The mystery spoken of concerns CHRIST and His Church. The passages from *Matthew* and *Corinthians* do not only not confirm, but oppose the idea of any relation in marriage, except that implied by the covenant of mutual interest and mutual love. Anything beyond what these terms imply is metaphysical and harmfully gratuitous.

It has been said that the eighteenth verse of *Leviticus* xviii. does not concern the question of marriage with a deceased wife's sister, but that it is a prohibition of polygamy. This interpretation is based on a meaning given to the word sister, *אחות*. The passage is translated “Thou shall not take one wife to another, to vex her . . . in her lifetime.” This can hardly be the meaning; for both before and after the law polygamy was permitted, and some of the best men mentioned in Scripture had more wives than one. It is also said that the “Hebrew idiom here never designates the blood

relationship of two brothers or two sisters, but always and invariably means two men together or two women together." No references are given, save *Exodus*, xxvi. 3, in which passage the word sister is used metaphorically, as in the clause "Sleep is the sister of death;" or, as when Job says of the worm, "Thou art my sister;" or in Solomon's language, "Say unto wisdom, Thou art my sister." This usage is in accordance with our own idiom, as when we sometimes speak of two similar things placed side by side, precisely as it is used in *Exodus* of the couplings of the curtains of the tabernacle. But there is no evidence that such is the meaning given to the word here. The phrase *isha—'a'cho-thā*, is idiomatic, and means "one—the other;" but the particular use made of it determines *what* the one and *what* the other is. As it stands in *Leviticus* xviii. 18, it means one sister to another sister. This meaning is confirmed by the LXX. translators, *γυνᾱίκα ἐπ' ἀδελφῇ αὐτῆς*, and by the vulgate, *sororem uxoris tuæ*, and by Luther, *deines Weibes Schwester*, and the relationship spoken of is clearly that of consanguinity, the passage meaning, thou shalt not marry two sisters, one after the other, while the former is living. The prohibition is against polygamy; but polygamy with a wife's sister. The last clause of the original text is an emphatic statement that on the death of the wife the prohibition is removed.

Another objection to marriage with a deceased wife's sister is based on ancient opinion, and especially on English sentiment and English Canon law. To sift the Canons of the ancient and mediæval Church, and mark with precision how many of them are, at this day, binding on the conscience, would require more pages than could well be given to one or two articles for the CHURCH REVIEW. That many of them have, as it were, erased themselves and become obsolete, of course no one will deny. That a goodly number of others ought to go the same road is equally undeniable. Conservatism may be a virtue; it may also be an evidence of weakness. When any principle is assented to, and adopted as a *guiding* principle, *because* it is ancient, it

becomes an obstacle to true progress, in Church as well as in State. Certain fundamental ideas underlie all correct legislation. These ideas will, by virtue of their own inherent force, move on down through the ages, and more or less accurately find expression in law. Other ideas have a life of one or two generations and then pass away. Herein is found the ground principle of the Vincentian Rule, which, in its application, is so often and so wantonly abused. Comparatively there are but very few of the pronouncements of either Œcumenical or Provincial Councils, that stand squarely upon that Rule; not even the Nicene Creed, as it stands in our Prayer Book, the contention about which separated the Eastern and the Western Churches, and if the different ideas suggested in different minds, by the expression Apostolic Succession, be regarded, even *that* would not stand the test of the Rule. That Rule implies universality, "everywhere and by all." To say that the marriage with a deceased wife's sister comes under that Rule, or reaches anywhere near to it, is but a dream of those who would make it tally with what they wish to have it cover.

It will be sufficient, for any purpose which this article has in view, barely to mention a few of the Canons sanctioned by Œcumenical and Provincial Councils. The Council of Elvira [A.D. 300] prohibits the Clergy from the use of marriage, and excommunicates for five years the man who shall have married his wife's sister—the implication being that after five years all is right again, morals, validity and all. The Council of Ancyra [A.D. 314] affixes the penalty of deposition upon Deacon or Priest who should marry, not having made known his intention at the time of ordination. Fourteen years have wrought something of a change in the minds of the canon makers. The Council of Niocesara [A.D. 314] enjoins degradation of Priests who marry after their ordination and forbids Priests to be present at *second* marriages. A council of Constantinople forbids a man to marry her to whose children by a deceased husband he has become godfather. One of the councils—Ancyra I

think—made a Canon concerning the length beyond which a Priest should not allow his hair to grow. The citation of these acts of Church Councils may appear like trifling with a serious subject, and of irreverence toward the Church. Not so. They are but few of the many instances, in the career of the Church, marking the fact that *all* of the decisions of her Councils are not infallible, and that all her ancient legislation cannot be assented to *because* it is *ancient*, but only because it has been weighed in the light of a progressive Christianity, and recent interpretation, and found in accordance with God's Word! This principle does not harm the Church, but renders her all the stronger by a clearer enunciation of what is *essential* to be believed.

No statement concerning the question of marriage with a deceased wife's sister would be complete except some notice be taken, *ab initio*, of its progress in England. To the time of Henry VIII., marriages in that country were regulated by the Canon law of Rome, no little of which was grounded on no higher principle than that of Papal caprice. The Statute of 1533 effected no change of principle, but only determined whose caprice should hereafter rule in the realm. The proceedings from 1527, when the divorce question first began to be considered, until the final decision and separation in 1533, are too specious to admit of a doubt as to the grounds upon which the suit was prosecuted. Plenty of Scripture was lugged in to cast a religious veil over the fundamental purpose, but it is evident, from the history of the transactions, that theological interests and motive had the least possible concern with the question of that shameful dissolution. Notwithstanding Mr. Froude's admiration for that monarch, and his purpose to hold him up to the gaze of the world as a paragon of injured saintship, his lecherous proclivities make it evident that compunctions of conscience exercised over him not the slightest restraining power. Everything went down before his passions. It would be a very remarkable circumstance for a man of Henry's subtle intellect and pretended tenderness of conscience to live with a woman

twenty and more years, unsuspecting that he was living a life of incest, and then all at once, like an enraged tiger, spring at the throat of a faithful wife. But conscience does, sometimes, play curious pranks. No doubt that the danger to England, concerning the succession, was imminent, yet because of a crown, is the Church to come forward with the most specious arguments, and sever that which GOD has joined together? No, not conscience, but passion, was the motive power of Henry, and recreancy the part which the Church acted in order to shape for him a semblance of an excuse for his lust and his tyranny. Even before he had been released from Catharine, by the enactment of law, he undisguisedly took the Boleyn as his wife, in defiance of decency and of all the finer sensibilities of a Christian manhood.

This piece of English legislation must be taken into consideration if any correct idea is to be formed of the origin and value of the English Table of Degrees. It may be said that it is not pertinent to the subject. But it is clear that it gives a clue to the motives and the criticism brought to bear on subsequent legislation concerning it. Than it, I venture to say, that there is not an instance in history where, in a more glaring manner, Scripture has been made to square itself with political exigency.

It is evident that Cranmer, who afterward took a leading part in the controversy, was not at first inclined to believe, on any Scriptural grounds, the illegality of Henry's marriage with Catharine, and knowing the temperament of that monarch he hesitated to express his opinion; and that he might not do so, proposed that the matter be referred to the Universities at home and on the Continent. The appeal is made, and, I believe in every instance, a decision was *forced* by various means which Henry was able to bring to bear upon them. Finally the transaction is accomplished, and the Statute of 1533 enacted. Thus the controversy rested, or rather simmered, until the accession of Elizabeth. In the meantime, the daughter of Catharine, once branded as the issue of an incestuous marriage, has been brought to

the throne, and crowned as the *legitimate* sovereign of the realm. What a sublime tossing about of Scripture and law and bastards!

But this is not all. The wheel must be made to turn the other way. The daughter of the Boleyn is on the throne, and feels it shaking beneath her. The impression is abroad, in the minds of prelates and other dignitaries, that Elizabeth, after all, is the illegitimate child, and not Mary. In support of her succession, resort is again had to Scripture, and the Archbishop of Canterbury was ordered to draw up a Table of Degrees, such as would, beyond peradventure, secure on Scriptural ground the succession. This Table was "never sanctioned by Parliament," but no matter for that, it lengthened the Archbishop's arm, and enabled him to wield it, too, whenever it might seem to him expedient. "It has been contended," says a writer in the *Westminster Review*, "that the Table was adopted and sanctioned by the Canons of 1603; but these Canons, having no force themselves, can give no effect to the Table, for they have never been sanctioned by Parliament."

The subject rested again for between two and three hundred years, thousands of marriages, in the meantime, having been contracted within the prohibited degrees, when a case occurred of sufficient importance to call for some new legislation, and Lord Lyndhurst introduced what is called "The Sister's Bill." This bill provides that the time within which an impeachment can be brought against one having married a deceased wife's sister, shall be limited to two years, and had it passed it would have virtually done away with that part of the table forbidding such marriages. The bill passed the House of Lords, amended in such a way as to render this kind of marriage, celebrated before 1835, clean and legitimate; but all celebrated after that date were to be considered as incestuous and void. What antics the Scriptures are made to play, the Bench of Bishops turning the wheel! And still we of this Church are seriously told that their action is binding on our conscience! A marriage that is pure to-day, to-morrow

made incestuous by Canon ! were it necessary for me to bring my conscience to trust in such authority or be excommunicate, then, in that case, I should say, excommunication let it be.

Within the last forty or fifty years, various bills have been introduced into the Upper and the Lower House, and though such men as Lords Francis Egerton, Lyndhurst, Bishops of Worcester, Ripon, and London, the metropolitan Clergy, Lords Houghton and Penzance ; Dr. Vaughn, the Dean of Llandaff, Mr. Gladstone, and many others of like notoriety and influence, yet thus far the bill has been defeated by a mere handful of Bishops in the Upper House. In the House of Commons, in one form or another, it has passed seven times. A writer in the July number of the *Westminster Review* for 1880, makes the following statement :

At the present moment with more than 400 members of the House of Commons in favor of the Bill, its chances are at the mercy of some half dozen fanatical opponents, who for long years have and who for long years will continue to offer a relentless and unscrupulous opposition. . . . Every member of the Government without exception in the House of Commons is in favor of the Bill. The majority is composed of members from all sides of the House, and from all shades of political sentiment ; from the professors of all creeds, and representatives from all parts of the kingdom ; and yet after 38 years of debate Parliament is mocked.

Simply by the ability of a few men to take advantage of a certain constitutional regulation concerning the introduction of bills and debate. As has been said, on a previous page, the majority of the best minds in England to-day regard that clause in the Table of Degrees, forbidding marriage with a deceased wife's sister, unscriptural and tyrannous. And there is good reason for believing that these minds, ere long, will make themselves effectually heard, and that that obnoxious clause will be erased from the Table.

Such, I believe, to be a fair presentation of the English legislation concerning marriage with a deceased wife's sister. It is evident that the main question has not been allowed to stand on its own merits, and that a

desire to understand how God's Word answers it has been dulled by the exigencies of English politics. It is furthermore evident that the authorities which oppose such marriages are far outweighed by those that affirm their Scriptural legality.

It is needless to speak of the legislation in this Church, regarding the English Table of Affinities. It amounts to nothing. The three or four Bishops, in attendance at the Convention of 1808, at the request of some of the lay delegates, ventured to express a random and unofficial opinion. "Agreeably to their sentiment, in relation to the whole ecclesiastical system," they considered that Table "obligatory on this Church, *unless* there should hereafter appear cause to alter it, without departing from the word of God." They were evidently, and wisely, distrustful of their own opinion, not only in regard to the binding force of the English Canon law, on this Church, but, also, in regard to the scriptural ground for the prohibition of marriage with a deceased wife's sister. Since then, the relation of the English Canon law to this Church has been learnedly treated by such men as the Hon. S. C. Judd, Hill Burgwin, Esq., Dr. Hugh Davy Evans, and others. To one not unduly influenced by a conservatism for English ways and English customs, Mr. Burgwin's conclusion seems to be that which, in relation to this subject, must rule in this Church.

This national Church began its existence actually and truly independent and automatic, dominated by the laws of no Sister-Church, her statute-books presenting the *tabula rasa* on which she alone had the privilege to write such laws as in her wisdom, depending on Divine guidance, she thought proper to prescribe for the government of her faithful members.

THE RECOVERY OF A LOST MIRACLE.—
THE BLOOD AND WATER FROM OUR
SAVIOUR'S SIDE.

INFIDELS are ever laying iconoclastic hands on all the miraculous events recorded in Holy Scripture, in order, if possible, to undermine its foundations. Christian believers, too, in their desire to make plain and acceptable the revealed mysteries, seek to explain them on physical and scientific grounds. The stupendous manifestations of Divine power which attended the Incarnation of our Blessed LORD from His Birth to His Ascension into glory do not escape unhallowed and irreverent treatment.

This is conspicuously the case with the most sublime and significant event which marked our SAVIOUR's last moments on the cross ; the outflow of Blood and Water from His dead person. The transaction can be restored to its rightful place and typical meaning only by the most careful and minute exegetical study. May He Himself guide us while we attempt to present the facts as recorded by His "beloved disciple !"

One of the soldiers with a spear struck His side, and forthwith came thereout Blood and Water.—*S. John xix. 34.*

The Western Church in all past ages, and now and forever, proclaims this testimony : "JESUS CHRIST DID SHED out of His most precious side both Water and Blood."

This declaration by our Book of Common Prayer is in both "The Ministration of Public Baptism of Infants" and "The Ministration of Baptism to Such as are of Riper Years." This public repetition of the declaration

demonstrates the firm faith and the deliberate steadfastness with which the Church holds and proclaims the *miraculous fact*.

This phrase, "*Did shed*," is not in a Passive, but in an *Active* sense.

As the declaration just quoted is, in the Baptismal Offices, immediately followed by this additional declaration, "and gave commandment," it is certain that JESUS CHRIST personal, and not His dead body, "did" by personal action, and not *passively*, did actually, and not rhetorically, "shed both Water and Blood."

That the shedding was *active*, and not *passive*, was actual, and not rhetorical, is certain, for these constraining reasons, which no one can gainsay :

1. It is contrary to English usage for the conjunction "and" to connect impersonal and personal, rhetorical and real actions. For this invincible reason, namely, because in the clause "Did shed" and "Gave commandment," the action of the clause "Gave commandment" is personal and real, the action of the phrase "*Did shed*" is also personal and real.

2. The verb *Shed*, when followed by the Objective Case, as it is here, namely, by "Water and Blood," is always an *Active* verb. To this fact no exceptions can be found.

3. Action requires an actor. Here JESUS CHRIST is the Actor. He is a personal and real actor, because He "Gave commandment;" which is a personal and real action. But we have already proved the action in the clause "Did shed" to be personal and real. On this account JESUS CHRIST is the personal and actual Author of the shedding of the Blood and Water.

4. "Did shed," in our Baptismal Service, is the English translation of the Latin *produxit*, in the Sacramentary of Gregory I., Bishop of Rome in the VI. century, from which Sacramentary the portion of the Baptismal Offices we are examining was taken.

By the phrase "Did shed," the English translators undoubtedly intended to give the exact and full sense of the Latin verb *produxit*. But what is this sense?

Nothing less than produced, called into being, caused to exist.

The verb *Produco*, with this meaning, occurs in the first centuries of the Christian era [Harper's "Lat. Dic.," p. 1456, B. I.].

The fact is important. The presence of *produxit* in the Sacramentary of Gregory allows us to refer its origin to a date much earlier than the time of his Episcopate, the VI. century of the Christian era.

THE USAGE OF PRODUCO IN THE VULGATE.

The usage of *Produco* in the Vulgate strongly confirms this creative meaning of *Produco* in Classic Latin [135].

These five places in the Vulgate, *Genesis* ii. 9, *Psalms* cxxxv. 7, *Isaiah* xlviii. 21, *Jeremiah* li. 16, *Ezekiel* xxviii. 18, are characterised by these peculiarities: (a) They are connected with the preposition *De*, and thus identical in construction with *S. John* xix. 34, *exivit sanguis et aqua, Vulgate*; and (b) The Hebrew verbs which *Produco* represents in these passages are in every instance the *Hiphel*, the Causative form of the Hebrew verb.

We copy these five places, the only places in the Vulgate where *Produco* is connected with the preposition *De*:

Produxit Dominus Deus de humo omne lignum.

Producit ventos de thesauris suis.

Aquam de petra produxit.

Produxit ventrum de thesauris suis.

Producam ignem de medio tui.

That in each of these five places *Produco* describes a creative act is most obvious and undeniable.

The creative meaning of *Produco* is strengthened by the *causative* force of the Hebrew verb which *Produco* represents in these five passages, according to Gesenius, the eminent Hebrew lexicographer:

"Caused to sprout forth," Gesenius' Lex., *Genesis* ii. 9.

"Caused to come forth," Gesenius' Lex., *Psalm* cxxxv. 7.

"Caused to flow," English Version, *Isaiah* xlviii. 21.

"Caused to come forth," Gesenius' Lex., *Jeremiah* li. 16.

"Caused to come forth," Gesenius' Lex., *Ezekiel* xxviii. 18.

Jerome, who translated these passages from the Hebrew into the Latin, knew full well both the *causative* force of the Hebrew verbs, and the acknowledged fitness of *Produco* to fully express this causative force.

Such is the ample linguistic authority for assigning to *produxit*, in the Sacramentary of Gregory I., creative energy. Thus: CHRIST produced, caused to exist, the flow of Blood and Water from His "precious side!"

The Latin of the Sacramentary of Gregory I., of which the words in the Baptismal Offices is a translation, is in the *Sarum Use*, from which this Latin was introduced into England, A.D. 1078.

We now repeat this Latin:

Benedicite (scilicet aquam) et per Jesum Christum Filium ejus Unicum Dominicum nostrum—qui te una cum sanguine de latere suo produxit [Palmer, *Origines Liturgicæ*, I., p. 189].

The following is the English Translation of these words of the Baptising Minister:

"I bless thee (namely, the water) even through JESUS CHRIST His only Son our LORD, who *produced* these together with the Blood *from* His own side."

The great and invaluable facts thus far established are most undeniably these: The Church, speaking most unequivocally in the Book of Common Prayer and the primitive Sacramentary of Gregory, which the Church copies, and thus approves, both believe and unceasingly teach, that the shedding of the Blood and Water from our SAVIOUR's side was *A Miracle wrought by Himself*.

What is the Church? "A Witness and a Keeper of Holy Writ" [XX. Article of Religion].

The testimony of the Church as a witness to the miraculous issue from the SAVIOUR's side is primitive and

uniform. We have already heard the testimony of the Church, as given by the Sacramentary of Gregory I., in the VI. century, A.D. 594.

Listening for the voice of the Church along the telephone of the centuries *preceding* the VI., we hear precisely the same testimony :

1. The early Baptismal Service in the Sacramentary of Gregory must have *inherited* in their integrity both the primitive faith, and the original fact of the miraculous issue of the Water and Blood from the side of our LORD.

2. The Roman Liturgy was substantially the same in the time of Gelasius, Bishop of Rome, A.D. 492, as it was in that of Gregory, A.D. 594, a hundred years after [Palmer, *Origines Liturgicæ*, I., p. 186].

3. The Roman Liturgy appears to be the same in the time of Innocentius, Bishop of Rome, at the very beginning of the V. century.

4. At that time the Roman Liturgy was esteemed to be of *Apostolical antiquity* [Palmer, I., p. 119].

Innocentius, Bishop of Rome, speaks of the Roman rites, in his time [A.D. 402-417], as having descended from S. Peter the Apostle. Innocentius' words are, *Id quod a Petro Romanæ Ecclesiæ traditum est*, That which from Peter to the Roman Church is delivered [Palmer, I., p. 118].

5. Indeed, if we cannot show any time *preceding* the V. Century when this teaching respecting the miraculous flow of Water and Blood from our LORD's side originated, we shall be compelled to admit this conclusion : This was the traditional teaching from the very beginning of the Gospel History.

Fully established, then, by history itself is this assertion of ours : The Western Church, in all past ages, and now and forever, proclaims this testimony, "JESUS CHRIST did *Himself* shed out of His most precious side both Water and Blood." The testimony of the Church thus historically, and therefore imperishably established, cannot change, unless she deny also her own historical origin. The testimony the Church has proclaimed from

the beginning of the Gospel, and is now proclaiming, the Church will forever proclaim while the world shall last.

In opposition to the traditional judgment and belief of the Church, two human causes are in modern times assigned for the appearance of the Blood and Water from the dead body of CHRIST: either (*a*) the spear of the Roman soldier, or (*b*) the spear and the broken heart of the Divine Sufferer combined.

Is there not an arbiter of sufficient authority to decide the incessant controversy between the Church and the common explanations?

Since, next to the records of Ecclesiastical History, the Narrations of the Four Gospels and the Epistles of the Apostles of our LORD are the only written testimony in our possession, the ultimate appeal must be to these additional historical records.

THE TESTIMONY OF HOLY SCRIPTURE.

The testimony of Holy Scripture is both historical and exegetical.

I. *Historical Testimony of Scripture* includes the testimony to these facts: (1) The Death of CHRIST, and (2) The Outflow of Water and Blood from His sacred Person.

I. The Testimony of Scripture respecting the Death of CHRIST embraces (*a*) the testimony of CHRIST Himself, (*b*) the testimony of S. John, and (*c*) the testimony of the Roman soldiers.

(*a*) The Testimony of CHRIST.

CHRIST Himself testifies to His own Death.

Previous to His Death He said, "I have power to lay down my life" [*S. John* x. 18].

On His cross He put forth this power, when He exclaimed, "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit" [*S. Luke* xxiii. 46; "yielded up," *S. Matthew* xxvii. 50; "gave up," *S. John* xix. 30, His spirit to GOD.]

With these two declarations of our LORD, the facts here following are inseparably connected:

(*aa*) Our LORD died of *His own will*, Crucifixion did

not produce His Death. Our SAVIOUR died voluntarily. "Our LORD died as the Prince of Life by an act of supernatural power, and separated, at His own pleasure, and at His own command, the spirit from the body" [The Rev. George Townsend, Arrangement of New Testament, Note 29, Part VII.].

(bb) Our LORD was *fully conscious* of the fact that He was dying.

(cc) Our LORD did not die either from faintness or from a broken heart.

(dd) His commendation of His spirit into the hands of His Father is His own testimony to the fact of His actual Death.

Thus our LORD is Himself an infallible Witness testifying to the reality and voluntariness of His Death.

(b) The Testimony of S. John.

S. John, "the beloved disciple," testifies as an Eye Witness to the actual Death of our LORD.

S. John saw with his own eyes our LORD die.

S. John was at the very death-moment standing by the cross. He could not have been mistaken with regard to the Death of CHRIST, which he witnessed.

"JESUS saw the disciple *standing by* whom he loved. After this JESUS bowed His head and gave up the ghost" [S. John xxx. 26, 30].

To the actual Death of CHRIST, S. John, as an Eye Witness "standing by," testifies *in express words*, when he thus recalls the dying scene, "The soldiers saw that JESUS *was dead already*" [S. John xix. 33].

Their seeing was one thing. The *fact* they saw was another thing. The fact is CHRIST's Death. To this fact S. John emphatically testifies, when he thus affirms, "JESUS was dead already."

(c) The Testimony of the Roman soldiers.

The executioners of CHRIST were Roman soldiers.

Why did these Roman soldiers refrain from breaking the legs of our LORD? They refrained because "they saw that JESUS *was dead already*." The conduct of the soldiers in not breaking the legs is their testimony to the fact of our SAVIOUR's actual Death.

Our LORD expired at three o'clock in the afternoon. He must have been hanging dead some two hours at least before the order to break His legs, and the legs of His two crucified companions, could have been procured from Pontius Pilate and put into execution. Most ample time had therefore passed for the soldiers to determine, by actual inspection, the reality of the Death of our LORD.

The fact of our LORD's actual Death, established by the unimpeachable testimony of these most competent witnesses, namely, CHRIST Himself, the Apostle S. John, and the Roman soldiers, could not be made stronger by the thrust of the spear of one of their number. The spear-thrust would be simply superfluous, because totally useless.

A *swoon* from crucifixion would not cease after two or three hours, and could not be taken by the soldiers for actual death.

The Fainting Theory, whether caused by exhaustion or by heart-breaking, is therefore baseless. Because baseless, the theory is an empty assumption. Theories are not facts. We must accept the facts recorded by the Evangelists.

2. The Testimony of S. John to the outflow of Blood and Water from the Side of our LORD.

"One of the soldiers with a spear struck (Greek, *πυξέ*) his side, and forthwith came there out blood and water. And he that saw it bare record, and his record is true; and he knoweth that he saith true, that ye might believe" [*S. John* xix. 34, 35].

Respecting this testimony of S. John, these facts are most obvious. The testimony is not to the Death of CHRIST. The testimony is to a transaction regarded by S. John as *miraculous*.

(a) The testimony of S. John is not to the Death of CHRIST.

The Death of CHRIST cannot be the object S. John desires to present to the faith of the persons he is addressing in his Gospel [xix. 35].

Everybody believed CHRIST was dead. The Jews be-

lieved it [*S. Matthew* xxvii. 63, 64]. Pilate believed it [*S. Mark* xv. 44]. The Roman soldiers believed it. History, in its widest compass, does not point us to an individual who denied the Death of Jesus of Nazareth, in the time of Pontius Pilate.

(b) The testimony of S. John is exclusively to the outcoming of the Blood and Water from our LORD's unpierced side.

This transaction S. John evidently regards as *miraculous*.

Would we see the full force of his testimony, we must most minutely examine the Greek of *S. John* xix. 35.

The subjoined translation is required by the original language :

The eye witness is testifying : and most true is his own personal testimony : and that eye witness knows that most certain truths is he affirming, that ye yourselves also may believe.

Both in structure and purpose this passage indicates that S. John is here describing a miracle performed by our LORD.

Only in two other places—1 *S. John* i. 1-3, and *S. John* xxi. 24—does he use the same strong Asseverations as in xix. 35.

The Asseverations in these three places are, in effect, identical. But in *S. John* xxi. 24 and 1 *John* i. 1-3 he is describing the miracles of our LORD. Since he uses the same Asseverations in *John* xix. 35 that he uses in xxi. 24 and 1 *John* i. 1-3, the identity of his language in the three places proves that in xix. 35 he is also describing a miracle, likewise wrought by the Incarnate Son of God, even when sleeping in the arms of death.

II. THE EXEGETICAL TESTIMONY.

The meaning of ἐνυῆε, *John* xix. 37.

Not a few Modern Commentators maintain that the Greek verb in this place describes a deep and bloody thrust. A single quotation from Dr. H. A. W. Meyer will sufficiently illustrate this fact :

“ Νύσσειν always denotes the violent push, a thrust ”
[*Commentary on S. John* xix. 34].

Dr. Meyer derives his definition of ἐννῆξε from the poet Homer, who lived a thousand years before S. John.

But Homer's persons are *demi-gods*. Their exploits are *superhuman*. His own language is necessarily poetical hyperbole and exaggeration.

The Roman soldier who stands by our dead SAVIOUR is not an Ajax. His spear is not an ashen beam 16 feet long. Its stroke is not a thunder-bolt. The Roman Centurion and his quaternion are not Grecian and Trojan giants. Their weapons are not Cyclopiian. Their minds are not the minds of demons set upon destruction. The mythological and unnatural vocabulary of Homer is too vast a mould for casting normal definitions, by which to explain the human Greek used by the Evangelical S. John.

The matter-of-fact use of νύσσω is the only authority we can recognise, when inquiring for the meaning of ἐννῆξε [*S. John* xix. 34].

The meaning of νύσσω, in its actual use in prose, is determined by these Greek authorities: The Book of Ecclesiasticus, B.C. 180, and Plutarch and Galen, both of the II. Century of the Christian era, and virtually of the age of S. John.

THE BOOK OF ECCLESIASTICUS.

The verb νύσσω occurs in Biblical Greek *only twice*, viz., *S. John* xix. 34 and *Ecclesiasticus* xxii. 19. “He who strikes the eye brings down its tears. And so he who strikes the heart discloses its feeling.”

This passage is the only one in the whole Greek Bible which casts direct light on the meaning of ἐννῆξε, *S. John* xix. 34. The words of *Ecclesiasticus* xxii. 19 are the Bible words which contain a definition of νύσσω, *John* xix. 34. The stroke of νύσσω, *Ecclesiasticus* xxii. 19, determines the nature of the stroke ἐννῆξε, by the soldier's spear, *S. John* xix. 34 effects.

These are the facts respecting νύσσω, *Ecclesiasticus*

xxii. 19, and, therefore, the facts respecting ἐνυξέ, *S. John* xix. 34. The stroke occasions only feeling and tears; does not break the skin; does not wound the flesh; is neither deep nor bloody. Such is νόσσω in *Ecclesiasticus* xxii. 19. But *Ecclesiasticus* xxii. 19 is the only place, except *S. John* xix. 34, in the Greek Bible, where νόσσω is found. The verb is thus proved by *Bible use* to be a very mild and harmless word. Mild and harmless in *Ecclesiasticus* xxii. 19, νόσσω must be mild and harmless in *S. John* xix. 34. Indeed, mild and harmless νόσσω actually is in *S. John* xix. 34, unless the context can destroy its mildness and harmlessness. This destruction is absolutely beyond the power of the context. To say, therefore, that the stroke of ἐνυξέ, *S. John* xix. 34, is deep and bloody is mere assertion, since *Ecclesiasticus* xxii. 19 proves it to be no stronger than the touch and slight pressure of a finger. *Ecclesiasticus* xxii. 19 invests νόσσω with feeble action. Sheer assumption is it to insist that its action is "violent," its cutting is sharp, its wound is bloody and profound. The action of the Bible νόσσω is no stronger than the action of νόσσω in *Ecclesiasticus* xxii. 19.

Plutarch.

Translation.

And now come to fight man to man, or in small parties. The Macedonians smote (νόσσοντες) in vain upon firm and long shields with their little swords; whilst their slight bucklers were not able to sustain the weight and force of the Roman swords, which pierced through (χωρούσας) all their armor to their bodies; they turned, in fine, and fled [*Plutarch's Lives, Battle of Pydna, Clough's Translation, II., p. 177*].

We thus have the meaning Plutarch gives νόσσω. Plutarch, by χωρούσας "pierced through all armor," deprives νόσσω of the exclusive meaning of to pierce. All νόσσω here means is to strike without penetrating. The little swords of the Macedonians did not penetrate, striking (νόσσοντες) the firm shields of the Romans. Thus Plutarch employs the verb νόσσω to indicate a non-penetrating stroke. In Plutarch νόσσω and χωρέω are *in*

contrast. The thorough penetration of *χωρέω* is not in this instance the action of *νύσσω*. *Νύσσω* can, then, not pierce through. It cannot pierce at all. It can merely hit and strike.

On account of these verbal usages in Plutarch, the Roman soldier standing by our dead SAVIOUR could not have pierced him in the slightest degree.

GALEN'S DEFINITION OF THE GREEK NOUN NUXIS.

He is describing the difference between the verbs to strike and to cut [*Galenus de constitut. Medicinæ*].

According to Galen, the stroke of *νύσσω* is not deep, but is merely felt and slight.

Claudian Galen, prince of surgeons, as well as prince of physicians, lived in the, II. Century of the Christian era. As a practising surgeon, Galen knew most intimately and most accurately the meaning of the word *νύσσω*. Observe his Greek definitions:

1. *Νύξις* is not a cut. The action of the Verb, then, since not a cut, must be a stroke.
2. The stroke is not deep. The stroke, therefore, is not even a bruise.
3. The stroke is slight. Not a cut, not a bruise, the slight stroke is merely superficial. The stroke is only on the surface.

By his descriptions Galen thus expressly *rejects* from the Verb *νύσσω* the meaning of "*pierce*." To pierce is To thrust deeply.

A deep thrust and a slight and superficial stroke are utter and irreconcilable opposites.

According, then, to Galen's definition of *νύσσω*, this Verb cannot, in *S. John* xix. 34, mean "*pierce*," and should not be so translated by the several Versions into English. In all the English Versions *ἐννυξε*, *S. John* xix. 34, should be translated struck slightly.

Additional Classic Greek, and THE SEPTUAGINT.

Δουρίπληκτος, "Pierced by the spear" [*Æschylus, Thebes*, 278].

Δουρίπληκτος, then, would our LORD have been, in case He was pierced by the spear of the Roman soldier.

This is the positive decision of Classic Greek.

In case our LORD was pierced with a spear, He was Δουρίπληκτος.

Consequently, as Δουρίπληκτος, He was the subject of each of its equivalent forms. *Passive*, He was pierced by the spear. *Active*, the Roman soldier thrust the spear into Him.

In case, then, the soldier thrust his spear into our LORD, He must have received the same kind of spear-piercing as King Saul intended for David. Saul was seeking to thrust his spear into David, and he thrust his spear into the wall [1 *Samuel* xix. 10].

If CHRIST was, on the cross, pierced by the spear, then was He Δουρίπληκτος, pierced by the spear.

Since He was Δουρίπληκτος, His condition as such required Him to receive the identical actions described by the words narrating the conduct of King Saul toward David.

If CHRIST was really Δουρίπληκτος, His condition as such demanded of S. John the exact use, in S. *John* xix. 34, of this language, "One of the soldiers thrust his spear into the side." If CHRIST was actually pierced by a spear, why did not S. John obey the laws of verbal construction in Greek, and use this very language furnished him by the Septuagint [1 *Samuel* xix. 10]?

There is but one answer to this question: The answer is decisive and final. Our LORD was not Douriplektos. Our LORD *was not pierced by the soldier's spear*. Because our LORD was *not* pierced, S. John does not employ ἐπάταξε [1 *Samuel* xix. 10], but prefers the harmless word ἐνυξε. One of the soldiers, with his spear, slightly struck the side of the lifeless CHRIST.

Thus, *thrice proved to be impotent*, the verb *nusso* has not the power to dislodge the Miracle from the record in S. *John* xix. 34. The Miracle remains unmoved and immovable. CHRIST alone is the Author of the outflow of the Blood and Water from His mysterious Person.

THE DESIGN OF THE MIRACLE.

The design of the Miracle, and its present Place and Office in His Church, S. John most distinctly shows us in his First Epistle [v. 6-8], where is

The Testimony of S. John respecting the Three Witnesses: The Spirit, The Water, and The Blood.

The Translation of this passage required by the Greek:

This is He who cometh by Water and Blood, JESUS CHRIST. Not by water only, but by the Water and the Blood. Even the Spirit is the Testifier, because the Spirit is Truth. For these are the Testifiers, the Spirit and the Water and the Blood. And so the Three are for the one testimony.

When reading these wonderful words of S. John, we are constrained to ask, What great truths does the passage embody? Most certainly these:

I. S. John here gives his inspired explanation of the miraculous issue from our SAVIOUR's side, and thus exhibits the Design of the Miracle, namely, To repeat and confirm His Two Sacraments.

II. S. John reverses the expression, Blood and Water [S. John xix. 34], into the new expression, Water and Blood. By this change this Apostle teaches us that the Blood and Water issuing from the side of our LORD have a *spiritual significance*. Each element is a separate symbol, or sacrament. The Water is the symbol of CHRIST's *Life*, is the Sacrament of Holy Baptism, in which, by the presence and power of His Spirit, we are made partakers of CHRIST's holy human life.

The Blood is the Symbol of CHRIST's *Death*, the Sacrament of His Atoning Sacrifice. In this Sacrament believing souls partake of the efficacy of His Propitiatory Death, by obtaining the forgiveness of their sins.

Of these Gospel Truths the two Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist are the outward Witnesses. Of the spiritual blessings of renewal in CHRIST's image, and of forgiveness through His Sacrificial Death, the Spirit of CHRIST is the inward Witness and Author, by witnessing to our consciousness, through the several graces

He imparts to our souls, that we are the spiritual children of God; and, because we are His children, bearing on our renewed hearts the holy image of His Incarnate Son, and possessing in this Divine image the inward pledge to "our perfect consummation and bliss, both in body and soul, in His eternal and everlasting glory," the fruition of CHRIST's present perfection in His Father's kingdom in heaven.

III. This miraculous exhibition of CHRIST's power in death imparts most weighty emphasis to these impressive words in our forms for Baptism and Holy Communion:

Whereby ye may perceive the great necessity of this Sacrament, where it may be had. . . . Wherefore, I bid you in the Name of God, I call you in CHRIST's behalf, I exhort you as ye love your own salvation, that ye will be partakers of this Holy Communion.

EXPLANATION OF S. JOHN XX. 24-29.

The words of S. Thomas in the Common Version.

Thomas, one of the twelve, was not with the disciples when Jesus came. The other disciples, therefore, said unto him, We have seen the LORD. But he said unto them, Except I shall see in his hands the print of the nails, and put my finger into the print of the nails, and thrust my hand into his side, I will not believe. After eight days again his disciples were within, and Thomas with them; then came Jesus, the doors being shut, and stood in the midst, and said, Peace be unto you. Then saith he to Thomas, Reach hither thy finger and behold my hands; and reach hither thy hand and thrust it into my side: And be not faithless but believing. And Thomas answered and said unto him, My LORD and my GOD! Jesus saith unto him, Thomas, because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed; blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed.

There is nothing whatever in any portion of the Greek of this language which conflicts with our interpretation of ἐννῆξε, slightly struck, *S. John* xix. 34.

1. In the whole passage there is no mention made of *the print of the Roman soldier's spear*. While "the print of the nails" is twice mentioned, there is very significant silence with regard to the print of *the spear*. Had there

been in the side of our LORD an actual spear-thrust, its print would have been much larger and a more conspicuous and noticeable object than the smaller prints of the nails. The smaller objects are repeatedly mentioned. The larger and more important mark and proof of personal identity is twice passed by in utter silence. Why this contrasted and unexpected silence? This seems to be the most obvious and the most necessary explanation: The spear-print is not mentioned, because there was none. There was no spear-print for this potent reason: There had been no spear-thrust. Our SAVIOUR'S "most precious side" was not "pierced," was not in the slightest degree wounded.

2. The English Version of *S. John* xx. 25, "I shall thrust my hand into his side," is not warranted by Greek Usage.

Tyndale, indeed, translates the second βαλῶ of *S. John* xx. 25 "thrust," and the English Version, 1611 (not the Westminster, 1881, "put"), follows him. Yet nowhere else in the Gospels but *S. John* xx. 25, 27, does King James' Version translate βάλλω "thrust," but either "cast, lay, put, send, throw."

Moreover, Liddell and Scott [Lexicon, *Seventh Edition*] do not give "thrust" as a definition of βάλλω. All βαλῶ means, *S. John* xx. 25, 27, is expressed by "put" of the Westminster; "put my hand upon his side." The Preposition εἰς does not, with βάλλω, necessarily mean "into," English Version. With βάλλω, εἰς sometimes means upon, and therefore may have this meaning in *S. John* xx. 25, 27.

Examples.

I cast her upon a bed [*Revelation* ii. 22].

In *Revelation* xiv. 19, εἰς, since interchanged with ἐπὶ, "on" (English Version), v. 19, must mean upon. He put his sickle upon the earth, *Revelation* xiv. 19. He put his sickle upon the earth, *Revelation* xiv. 16. Thus, εἰς, *Revelation* xiv. 19, is proved to mean upon.

As *S. John*, the author of the narrative, xx. 24-29,

also wrote the Book of *Revelation*, we have his authority for translating εἰς, *S. John* xx. 25, 27, with βαλῶ in this manner, Put my hand *upon* his side.

THE FINAL WORDS OF S. THOMAS.

The final words of S. Thomas, "My LORD and my GOD" [*S. John* xx. 28], must be interpreted by his preceding words and actions.

(a) When there was this realisation "forthwith came thereout blood and water;" there was no break in our LORD's side; there was no breach in His lifeless body. "Thereout came blood and water," but there was no wound, and consequently there was no subsequent scar.

(b) Previous to our LORD's interview with S. Thomas there had been this occurrence, JESUS showed them His hands and side. Accordingly, the disciples rejoiced because they saw the LORD [*S. John* xx. 20].

The nature of this showing and this seeing is explained by S. Luke, when describing the same events we have just related by S. John: "Behold my hands and my feet, that it is I myself: Handle me and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see me have. And when he had thus spoken, he shewed them His hands and His feet" [*S. Luke* xxiv. 39, 40]. According, then, to S. Luke, our LORD's showing them His hands was not merely stretching forth His hands and His feet toward His disciples, but also directing them to *handle* these scarred members of His risen body.

These words of S. Luke explain the conduct of S. Thomas when thus commanded by our LORD, "Reach hither thy finger and see my hands, and reach out thy hand and put it upon my side" [*S. John* xx. 27].

S. Thomas, in compliance with our LORD's direction, "handled" both His hands and His side.

By handling the scarred hands, S. Thomas is convinced that the man he touches is the same man that was nailed by his hands to the cross, and, therefore, lives again. This conviction constrains S. Thomas to exclaim "My LORD;" the very appellation over which

the disciples rejoiced eight days before, when thus addressed by Him, "Behold my hands and my feet, and that it is I myself" [*S. Luke* xxiv. 39]. I am your LORD.

Handling the side of his LORD, and finding there neither wound nor scar, and thus convinced that the issue of the blood and water was solely GOD's work, S. Thomas is compelled by this conviction to exclaim, in addition, "My GOD;" our LORD's own words on the cross [*S. Matthew* xxvii. 46], thus expressing His full belief in His Father's omnipotence; for the expiring CHRIST added, "Into thy hands I commend my spirit" [*S. Luke* xxiii. 46]. On the lips of our LORD, the exclamation "My GOD" recognises His Father as the GOD receiving His departing spirit into Paradise. On the lips of S. Thomas, the exclamation "My GOD" recognises CHRIST as the GOD, who from the unpierced, unwounded, unopened, perfect side of His dead body caused Blood and Water to flow forth.

From the time of the first union of the Divine and Human natures in CHRIST, the connection is from henceforth inseparable. The Miracle of CHRIST's Incarnation renders all His other Miracles possible. To our limited minds difficulties will present themselves. But in the presence of CHRIST's *Deity* no difficulty is tenable.

THE SYRIAC AND LATIN VERSIONS OF S. JOHN XIX. 34.

Both the Syriac and Latin Versions fully confirm our interpretation of *S. John* xix. 34.

The Syriac Version, probably the production of the Second Century of the Christian era, translates *ἔννεξε* [*S. John* xix. 34] by *maha*, a verb, which, instead of meaning in this place to "pierce," to thrust through, has simply this signification, to strike without piercing.

PROOF OF THIS MEANING.

In *Acts* xii. 7 the English version has this narrative, "The angel of the LORD smote Peter on the side."

The stroke of the angel was neither cutting nor bloody. Its whole effect was to awaken Peter out of sleep.

But the Syriac verb, *maha*, describing this harmless stroke of the angel, is the very same verb which describes the stroke of the soldier's spear, *S. John* xix. 34, and translates the Greek verb *νίσσω* in this verse.

The fact is conclusive proof that the Syriac, *S. John* xix. 34, regarded the action of the verb as merely a stroke. The Syriac verb *maha* has precisely the same meaning in *S. John* xix. 34 the verb has in *Acts* xii. 7. In *Acts* xii. 7 the stroke of this verb is neither cutting nor bloody. Its stroke is, therefore, equally harmless in *S. John* xix. 34. But in *S. John* xix. 34 the harmless Syriac verb *maha* translates the Greek verb *νίσσω*. The consequence is decisive. According to the Syriac, the Greek verb *νίσσω* neither opens the side of the dead Christ nor causes the blood and water to flow from it.

We have not even yet exhibited all the illustrations of the meaning of the Syriac of *S. John* xix. 34 with which the Syriac of *Acts* xii. 7 enriches us.

In each place the Syriac word for "side" is preceded by the Syriac preposition *Beth*. In *Acts* xii. 7 this preposition cannot possibly mean *into*, but must mean *on*. We cannot translate the Syriac of *Acts* xii. 7 in this way. The angel smote Peter *into* the side. On the contrary, we are obliged to admit this translation of our English Version, "The angel smote Peter *on* the side."

But in *S. John* xix. 34, the Syriac *Beth* has exactly the same meaning the English Version gives this preposition in *Acts* xii. 7, namely, "*on*." This is the only translation the Syriac permits, namely: One of the soldiers smote *on* the side with a lance.

The Syriac thus condemns our own English Version, "One of the soldiers with a spear *pierced* his side."

The Syriac totally rejects this explanation of the transaction, namely, The soldier's spear *entered* our Lord's side. This is in substance the entire declaration of the Syriac of *S. John* xix. 34. The mild and harmless stroke of the soldier's spear was *wholly on the surface* of the body of the Messiah now sleeping in death.

THE LATIN VERSION.

The Latin Version, also of the Second Century, thus translates *S. John* xix. 34, first clause: *Unus militum lancea latus ejus aperuit*, "One of the soldiers with a spear *opened* his side" [Rheims Version, A.D. 1582].

But "opened," the Rheims translation of *aperuit*, cannot be justified. The primary and *literal* meaning of *aperio*, and the only meaning it has in the Vulgate, is to *uncover*.*

Our LORD when crucified was not wholly uncovered. His entire divesting consisted in the removal of His outer garment [*S. John* xix. 23, 24]. Our LORD's outer tunic being the only garment of His in possession of the soldiers, His inner tunic remained untouched on His sacred person during His crucifixion, and during the suspension of His lifeless body on the cross. Thus remaining, His inner tunic may have been gently and partially raised by the soldier's spear, and thus, as the Latin Version teaches, the spear may for a moment have *uncovered*, *aperuit*, His breathless side.

At this point of the investigation we may ask, What is the meaning of the Greek *πλευρά*, and the Latin *latus*? *πλευρά* is the *side* and not *σῆθος*, the heart. *Latus* is also the *side* and not *pectus*, the breast.

It is then quite possible that the side of our LORD the soldier's spear *uncovered*, and in uncovering gently struck, *ἐνυξέ* [*S. John* xix. 34], was one of His *loins*. This possible sense of *πλευρά* and *latus* renders the exact location of the stroke of the soldier's spear on the SAVIOUR's side *impossible* to determine. The assertion that the precise locality was opposite His heart is incapable of proof. All declarations respecting the piercing of His heart are consequently nothing more than conjectures.

Why does the Roman soldier uncover one of CHRIST's *loins*?

An answer which accords with the circumstances may be regarded as probable.

* Harper's *Lat. Dict.*, Concordantiæ. F. P. Dutripon.

The loins are a part of the body on which stripes are inflicted [*Ecclesiastum* xxx. 12].

Before His crucifixion, our LORD was severely "scourged" [*S. Matthew* xxvii. 26].

The blood-dried stripes remained on His lifeless body.

One of the four soldiers who balloted for His outer tunic, perhaps the very soldier who uncovered His gashed and bloody side, may have inflicted these cruel and undeserved stripes. In the meantime, each one of CHRIST's executioners has acknowledged His Sonship by this exclamation, "Truly this was the Son of God" [*S. Matthew* xxvii. 54].

This confession of faith in CHRIST is the effect of a Divine revelation in their hearts [*S. Matthew* xvi. 17]. We cannot limit the amount of Divine revelation. With the perception of CHRIST's Divine Sonship, the believing soldiers may also have perceived His sacrificial character, and understood by their spiritual illumination that by the very "stripes" they had created, and the very nails they had driven, they themselves were forgiven and "healed" [1 *S. Peter* ii. 24]. The stripes and the nail-prints are now to the soldiers marks of CHRIST's love, and the loving soldier with his spear uncovers the wounded side of the Son of God, that the affecting sight may move them all to love Him more fervently in return.

This explanation of the uncovering of the SAVIOUR's side agrees most exactly with S. John's own quotation of the prophet Zechariah [xii. 10], the Greek of which requires this translation: "They shall look *with affection* upon Him whom they killed by piercing" (with the nails) [*S. John* xix. 37]. Since this is the meaning of the passage, it cannot possibly define the subsequent action of the soldier's spear [*S. John* xix. 34].

The real meaning of the Greek *ἐννέξε* and the Latin *aperuit* restores to our bereaved sight the true aspects in which the closing scenes of Calvary were witnessed by "the disciple whom JESUS loved," and by CHRIST's mother and the two Marys; and were always reviewed and received by the Church of the first ages of the Gos-

pel. These original aspects differ *toto cœlo* (the entire heaven) from the usual visions of the present time.

Instead of a savage soldier, heartless and mechanical, thrusting in brutal wantonness the SAVIOUR's stiffened breast from one side to the other with a broad-headed javelin, we see in the Roman *quaternion* filial attachment exemplifying Christian graces, and guarding with loving care His still form, now more precious to them than gold of Ophir.

Instead of a naked and unsightly corpse, made hideous and repulsive by deep gashes and oozing gore, there is before our saddened eyes the inoffensive martyr, JESUS of Nazareth, lovely, though dead, covered, unmutilated (after he was nailed to the cross), and ready to be "wound in the linen clothes with the heavy mixture of myrrh and aloes; as the manner of the Jews is to bury" [*S. John* xix. 39, 40].

The scene of the crucifixion of GOD's and the world's Messiah is, indeed, an indelible stigma upon those who caused it, and a darkened sun will always rest upon His cross. But the Evangelists have softened and brightened its hard and dark features by the dawning illumination of CHRIST's returning life. This prophetic and cheering radiance we must not fail to see and employ for our guidance and comfort.

We desire to contemplate anew the original sights which marked the fading hours of the Crucifixion Day: The jeering rabble has departed. Only friends stand around the acknowledged Son of GOD, slumbering for a brief season in the embrace of death. The Christian women who followed Him from Galilee, and now standing near, beholding with adoring and gratified wonder* His reassertion of saving power by converting his Roman executioners.

This transformed outlook and retrospect of Golgotha which the Gospel records, rightly interpreted by the Syriac and Latin Churches, and by the Church of England and her American daughter, is itself an efficient power.

* θεωροῦσαι, *S. Matthew* xxvii. 55.

While the true view is the RESTORATION OF A LOST MIRACLE OF OUR LORD, the original outlook at the same time shuts away from our pained vision the present abounding distortions and exaggerations often obscuring the quiet and instructive scene, and also excludes the aggressive conjectures of Modern Science, with all its repellant horrors.

Christianised Golgotha turns "the place of a skull" into a radiant ground reflecting this promise, "As in Adam all die, even so *in Christ shall all be made alive*" [1 Cor. xv. 22], and exhibits the armed Romans confessing CHRIST, as living pledges of a great army of Gentiles, who will, in the fast approaching future, win the world to the dominion of the risen and ascended Son of Man, "the King of Kings and the LORD of LORDS."

SAMUEL FULLER.

IS CREMATION UNCHRISTIAN?

WITHIN the past few years especial attention has been called to the evils resulting from the disposal of the remains of the dead by inhumation or burial in the earth.

The better knowledge of sanitary laws—that is, of the conditions under which the health of the living may be preserved—has led many to ask the question whether the present mode of inhumation may not in some cases, in many, be superseded by something better.

In response to the question there have been various answers.

Some have recommended burial beneath the waters of the sea. One writer, Veritz, proposed that a ship should be in waiting at each sea-port to receive the daily contingent of the dead from the cities and towns within a given sea, and then, at an appointed hour each day, should sail out to the deep waters, and reverently, with religious rites, commit the bodies to the keeping of the “mystic element” until the sea should give up its dead.

Another plan suggested is that of petrifying the bodies by a chemical process. It includes the injection of chemicals and then the burial of the body in some chemically prepared soil. The waters of certain springs and peculiar layers of earth have been known to petrify human remains, and even where actual petrification has not taken place, the bodies have been singularly preserved. Thus, in 1569, three Roman soldiers were dug out of a peat bog where they had been for fifteen hundred years. Four hundred and sixty-three years after the body of Edward I. was buried, it was exhumed and found free from decay.

It is suggested that modern chemical science is ade-

quate to the preparation of compounds that would have this same effect, so that in the future the necessary appendage to the undertaker's establishment would be the chemist's laboratory, where, by some simple treatment, this fabric of flesh might become stone.

A third suggestion is the revival of the old process of embalming, or rather it is a modification of the old process.

Embalming, for the temporary preservation of the remains of the dead, is very frequently done now, so that whenever it is desired that a funeral may be delayed a week or two, or the body transported a great distance, the embalmer's skill is called into requisition, and usually with entire success.

The suggestion of some is to combine the external applications used by the ancients and the injected chemical solutions used to-day, and thus to postpone for many years the crumbling away of earth to earth and the return of dust to dust.

Still another suggestion is that of encrusting the remains with a cement which in time becomes as hard as stone.

Some German writers urge that the dead body be first coated with this cement, then placed in a receptacle, a cave in the earth built of stone and cement, and finally that the fluid cement be poured freely all around, so that the body would be thus "entombed in a solid matrix of long-enduring material."

Burial at sea, petrification, embalming, and encrusting, each of these processes has its advocates.

It is not necessary to point out here the objections, more or less weighty, which are urged against them all, if any one of them be pressed as a general substitute for the now common usage of inhumation or burial in the earth.

Burials at sea there will be so long as death sails with the helmsman of the ship, or waits upon the sunken rock the on-rushing steamer.

But to make the ocean the burial place of the ten thousand times ten thousand who die on land is not

practicable, even if it were free from most serious objections.

Petrifaction, embalming, and encrusting will be practised in some cases, but cannot become general, for the simple reason that it is most desirable that the remains of the dead should be resolved into their primal elements, and perhaps as rapidly as possible.

To accomplish the most rapid decomposition, and to render it harmless to the living, it has been proposed to call in the aid of fire and heat. This process is usually known as Cremation. It is not something new, but is a revival, under the improved appliances of modern science, of the funereal pyre of the ancients.

And yet it so differs from the ancient funereal pyre as to be free from revolting publicity and from all offensiveness. It is not necessary to describe it in detail beyond the mere statement that furnaces have been invented by which an intense heat is produced without having the flame come into contact with the body, and by means of this great heat a human body can be reduced to ashes in from fifty minutes to three hours.

The main objection urged against cremation is that it is Unchristian. There are lesser objections made to it, some of them arising from popular ignorance and misconception, and others from sentimental considerations; but after all, that which stands most in the way of any frequent, not to say general, adoption of this process of disposing of the remains of the dead, is the fear that it is unchristian.

If this fear can be relieved, if the Christian public can be convinced that there is nothing in this process really antagonistic to any essential doctrine of our religion—however much it may be a departure from the usages of the Christian centuries—the way may be opened for the adoption of cremation wherever the exigencies of the case point out the need of some process different from that of inhumation or burial in the ground.

Cremation, like many another good thing, has unfortunately been weighted down by some foolish notions of some of its over-ardent advocates, has been made the

theme of the newspaper caricaturist's pen and pencil, and has received the angry blows of some who have struck at it in blind ignorance or wilfulness. But, after all, as has been said, the great obstacle has been and is the impression held by many, that its introduction will somehow lessen the hold that the Christian Faith now has upon the masses. One of the English Bishops is reported to have said that nothing would so undermine the Faith of the world in the doctrine of the Resurrection. Others, in the ministry and out of the ministry, have done their utmost to array the sentiment of the Christian public against it by statements and arguments of a like tenor, so that, in the judgment of many to-day, it has become a Christian duty to oppose cremation, and they stigmatise as atheists all who favor it.

Referring to the absurd views of some of the advocates of cremation, it must be admitted that there has been much that has been intensely repulsive in their suggestions, as, for example, that of Sir Henry Thompson, who proposed that the ashes of the dead might be utilised for the fertilisation of the soil; that of some one else, who proposed the making of illuminating gases; that of a fanciful Frenchman, who proposes the building of the furnace stack in the cemetery tall enough to permit all to watch the escaping gases, and thus to see the mingling of the elements of the body with the air; and that of others, as to the storage of the funereal urns on the parlor mantel-shelf.

Sir Henry Thompson's notion is no more repulsive, however, than the actual facts continually brought to light as to the treatment of the buried bodies of the dead, such as the selling of the mould of an old English churchyard, some years ago, to the neighboring farmers for spreading upon their fields, or the use made on Egyptian railways of the mummies for fuel for the engines, or even the disposition made of the long-buried bodies of the pauper dead, cast out from the burial-places within the precincts of great cities, to become the property of curiosity seekers, or to be thrown into sinks and cesspools.

It may be affirmed that every suggestion—however absurd, however repulsive it may be—which has been made by any advocate of cremation, can be paralleled by the actual treatment of the bodies of the dead committed to the earth, so that cremation really receives no actual injury from the vagaries of a few of its advocates, and may be considered entirely apart from everything absurd or repulsive which some have associated with it.

If it is a convenient way of disposing of the remains of the dead, if it avoids the injury to the living which results so often from the general practice of inhumation ; but, above all, if it is a practice consistent with Christianity, then there is no reason why it should not be recognised as both allowable under most circumstances, and desirable under many.

It is not claimed that it should ever become even general, much less that it should be made compulsory, but that, in compliance with the previously expressed wish of the deceased person, or where sanitary conditions are the better secured, cremation may be as reputable a process as burial at sea, or embalming, or inhumation are now.

It cannot become a reputable process until Christian people are convinced that it is not unchristian. The time has come to examine it seriously lest, as one has well said, the burning of the dead fall altogether into infidel hands and thus become at last the symbol of irreligion.

Practically, cremation is to-day the symbol of irreligion with many, and partly because but little effort has been made to show that it is not unchristian, and especially, that it does not oppose any correct belief in the doctrine of the Resurrection or in any related doctrine of our religion.

One of the most notable utterances in this direction of correct teaching was that made by the Bishop of Manchester in 1874. In an address made at the consecration of a cemetery, he wished his hearers “to dissociate the Resurrection from physical conditions,” for, said he, it is no more impossible for God to raise up a body at the Resurrection, if needs be, out of elementary particles *which had been*

liberated by the burning, than it would be to raise up a body from dust, and from the elements of bodies which had passed into the structure of other bodies.

The same Bishop uttered like sentiments at a Social Science gathering, but there are very few who have spoken outright with the view of correcting popular prejudices against cremation, and this silence has been often interpreted by the general public as endorsing the statements made by others, that the burning of the remains of the dead is unchristian.

It must be frankly admitted that the opponents of cremation have a seeming advantage in the discussion when they appeal to Christian usage, for it is undeniably the case that burials by inhumation and by sepulchre have been the almost invariable practices from the first Christian century, and that these modes of burial were at one time marks of Christianity as distinguished from paganism.

It is also true that tribes, which at one time practised incineration of the remains of the dead, gave it up when they became converts to the Christian Faith.

Moreover, some of the early Church Fathers very bitterly reproached the pagan for the burning of the dead, and referred to Christian burial as an indication of the superiority of the Christian religion over the pagan.

To return now to the funereal pyre seems indeed to some like a return to paganism, and they ask, What right have we to change a custom so associated with our religion, and which has been for so long a time a distinguishing mark of Christianity? The matter is very strongly put by one who writes thus:

The whole surroundings accompanying the act of burial among Christians were so marked and so reverent that they stamped the rite as Christian. Julian, the apostate emperor, acknowledged that austerity of life, hospitality, and reverent burial of the dead, were the powerful influences that gave Christians the conversion of the empire. Christian burial had its motive in the faith in the Resurrection, and therefore, the body that God would so care for as to bring again from its dust must be reverently laid away. To attack this loving care of the Christian for the remains of his loved one was a controlling cause why so many martyrs were burnt by heathen magistrates.

While admitting, therefore, the uniformity of Christian usage, and while realising the truth of the assertion that at one time the mode of burial was a mark by which the Christian was distinguished from the pagan—it is by no means necessary to believe that the usage of burial by sepulchre or inhumation was never to be departed from; nor does departure from it to-day involve in any way any disbelief in the doctrine of the Resurrection and immortal life.

It must be remembered that there is no command in the Scriptures as to the mode of burial, nor, especially, is there any command as to the mode of burial associated with any of the teachings of our LORD and the Apostles. Moses and the Prophets nowhere legislated against incineration, and no precept of the New Testament is directed against it, although it was practised by the surrounding nations. Jahn says that

the ancient Hebrews seem to have considered burning the body a matter of great reproach, and rarely did it except when they wished to inflict the greatest ignominy.

He cites *Genesis* xxxviii. 24, where there is the account of Judah's order for the burning of Tamar the harlot. Whether the order was to put her to death by burning, or to consume her body thus after death, does not appear, but it probably meant burning alive, which was certainly an ignominious mode of punishment. But the order was not executed in her case. Its edge was taken off and her doom averted by the revelation she made of Judah's own complicity in her sin. Tamar's case, therefore, does not show any more than that burning the living body was the most ignominious form of punishment known to the ancient Hebrews. It has no bearing one way or the other upon the question of disposing of the remains of the dead.

Another reference to burning, in the Old Testament, is the case of Saul and his three sons. They fell upon the field of battle, and the Philistines, exulting in victory, cut off Saul's head and nailed his body and the bodies of his three sons to the walls of Bethshan.

Some of the valiant friends of the king went by night and rescued the bodies. To save them from again falling into the hands of the Philistines, these friends burnt them at Jabesh, and buried what was left under a tree. *This act of theirs met no censure.*

One hundred and forty years afterward, beginning with the case of Asa, it would seem that burning was not an uncommon mode of disposing of the remains of the dead prior to committing the ashes to the sepulchre. Such passages as *Amos vi. 10*, and *Jeremiah xxxiv. 5*, are sometimes cited in support of this view. It is fair, however, to add that there are commentators who say that the burnings referred to were not of the bodies, but of spices, perfumes and the like, as part of the religious ceremony and in honor of the deceased. But others think that these spices and perfumes were a part of the funeral pyre accompanying the burning of the body.

Whatever exegetes may decide as to the exact meaning of these passages, it is quite clear that there is no explicit prohibition of incineration in the Old Testament.

After the captivity, the sentiment of the Jews was decidedly against incineration, and the practice of burial in caves and sepulchres prevailed among them at the dawn of Christianity.

This practice was adopted by the first Christians, and for two reasons: First, because, as they had been Jews, they would naturally continue the usage unless forbidden by the precepts of their new faith. New converts to Christianity would, of course, conform to the usage they found prevailing.

Second—the funeral pyre of the pagan was in many ways most repulsive, both to the senses and also to the religious convictions of the Christians. It was not, as is the modern scientific process of cremation, a rapid reduction of the remains of the dead to ashes, the flames not touching the body; but the body was thrown upon a heap of combustible materials and burnt in the presence of spectators, presenting in the process much that was most revolting. When to so much that was thus repulsive were added the pagan libations to the

gods, the other ceremonies associated with idolatry, and the wails of relatives who sorrowed as those who had no hope, it is not surprising that the Christians would prefer the then prevalent Jewish mode of burial, and that into it they would bring the religious rites which set forth the facts that the body is the Temple of the HOLY GHOST, that CHRIST'S incarnation exalts our flesh, and that through Him, who is the resurrection and the life, they who sleep in Him shall awaken again to die no more.

The Christians shrank in disgust and terror from the pagan funereal pyre, as indeed they did from other pagan usages. An important instance of their utter aversion to everything that had formerly been associated with paganism is their treatment of the plastic arts.

Poetry and music they adopted at once. They could derive these from a pure source, viz., from Judaism, but for a time there was no Christian painting, carving, or statuary, because these had been perverted to idolatry and to lasciviousness.

There grew up a positive hostility to art—so much so, that a piece of statuary in a home, at one period, indicated that, whatever else that home was, it was not a Christian home.

But this aversion to art did not always continue; for, beginning probably in the rude carving on the stone that marked the sepulchre of the departed, art culture spread onward until it passed into the church edifices for symbolism, and for decoration, to beautify the places of worship, and to teach through the eye the truths heard by the ear.

The Church finally became the patron of art; Christian facts and doctrines provided the themes, and gave the inspiration to the workers. Then came the period when the Church stood as the protector of art, actually holding in her keeping, as most worthy to be defended, these accessories which she once despised.

The progress was from aversion to toleration, from toleration to use, from use to patronage, and finally from patronage to protection.

And so might it have been with reference to the funeral pyre but for two reasons—first, the absorption of the once pagan races by Christianity led to the decay of the usage of incinerating the remains of the dead; and, second, some erroneous views of the resurrection of the body which were held by many helped to maintain the old prejudices until the present practice of inhumation became endeared by long-continued and widespread association.

And this leads very naturally to a consideration of what lies at the basis of much of the present prejudice against cremation: *It is that conception of the doctrine of the Resurrection which requires the reanimation of the identical particles of the body in the same order in which they existed here, and with the same properties.* One of the old masters represented the dead at the last judgment as breaking forth through the crust of the earth. Here an arm and there a leg were thrust through, and there a body was partly liberated. A modern preacher is reported to have outdone the painter in his fanciful description of the scenes of the last day, for he pictured the dis severed members flying through the air to find the bodies to which they had once been joined, but from which they had by accident, or war, or the disturbance of burial-places been removed.

The vision of Ezekiel—the valley filled with the dry bones—is sometimes cited to uphold such a view, but, to say the least of it, it is a weak exegesis which would defend the doctrine of the reanimation of the identical particles in the same order in which they existed here, by citing a vision which referred to the renewal of a nation.

The early Church could not have held such a view of the Resurrection, for they had continually before them the spectacle of martyrs burned at the stake or devoured by wild beasts. This gross materialistic renewal of the bodies of the dead, coming to life again bearing their scars and wearing the exact shape which they had at death, was not formulated in the doctrines of primitive Christianity. They did not define the mode of the resur-

rection, even when they made such strong declarations to the heathen as "You may cause our bodies to be ground beneath the teeth of wild beasts, you may scatter our ashes to the four winds—yet God will cause us to live again. You cannot defeat His purposes to awaken us at the coming of His Son."

They had implicit confidence in the power of God to do as He had promised. Said Monica, the mother of Augustine,—

It matters but little to me where you bury my remains. My God, who has been so faithful to me, will watch over them and restore me to life again."

And as another has said :

The elementary materials whereof the corrupted body was composed are still in existence ; and the Omniscient knows where they are, and the Omnipotent can collect them together again.

But the bodies of the redeemed are not to be raised as mortal, as corruptible, as fleshly bodies, but as immortal, as incorruptible, as glorious, as spiritual. He who has all power brings together again the now purified elementary materials of the body, in such way that individuality is preserved ; that there may be union ; and that

the resurrection body may become a transparent manifestation of the soul's spiritual nature.

Corporeity is elevated into the sphere of the spirit, and becomes a manifestation of the spirit.

The resurrection body is a spiritual body.

Composed of matter—it is matter sublimated, spiritualised, changed, and partaking now of spiritual properties.

If for the integrity of the resurrection body it be essential that every particle of which the once material body was composed be gathered together, and transmuted by the touch of God into that which is spiritual, He has the power to gather from every source whither the particles have been dispersed whatever it needs. There can be no loss of the material, however much it changes its form.

The dispersion of the particles of the body is as inevitable in the case of those inhumed as in the case of those incinerated.

Think of the mutations which have been going on these many years past in that silent grave in the cemetery, until, if you dig down to-day, there may be found nothing bearing the semblance of a human form. The great tree whose roots ran down deep beneath the surface has been nourished by the changes which have taken place in that grave, by the gases evolved and the nutriment provided.

In the alchemy of nature, what were once the particles of a human body have gone into the substance of the tree, and the leaves of the tree have been falling these many autumns past to be blown hither and thither by the winds, until, decaying, they fertilise other soil.

Not more complete is the dispersion of the particles by means of fire than is the work done by the chemical agents of the sea upon the body buried many fathoms deep beneath its surface.

There is no such thing, even in the rare cases of petrification of human remains, as the body remaining as it was when the spirit fled. It was not adamant when the hour of death was struck, nor will it be so when the soul comes back to reanimate it. It must be changed. The mere holding together of the same particles, whether in the enclosure of a sepulchre, or in a never-disturbed grave, or by petrification, is not in any sense a prerequisite for the resurrection of the body. The elementary materials necessary for its reconstruction are in the safe keeping of the LORD, wherever He sees proper to bestow them. It is not necessary that He should bind them in parcels and label them. They are as safe scattered to the poles, borne on the wings of the wind, stored in the vapors of the seas, mingled with the gases of the volcano, as if they were removed to storehouses constructed of materials more imperishable than aught we know of.

Barring out this utterly untenable view, that the resurrection implies the actual renewal of the exact particles

in the exact order and in the form they had when the body was buried—barring out the view, there is no conception of the doctrine of the Resurrection which cremation antagonises, for it is simply the rapid reduction of matter to other forms. It is the hastening of a process which goes on under every other mode. It does not make it incredible that God should raise the dead. It puts no barrier in the way of faith. It bids men still look to Him who is the Resurrection and the Life, and at Whose coming the dead shall awaken.

Instead of overturning the faith of men in the future rising from the dead, as was objected by the English Bishop before quoted, may it not help draw attention to more correct views of the resurrection, and make men more trustful in Him who by His power created all things, and who has but to say to the elements give back and they obey Him?

The unscriptural view of the Resurrection which incineration antagonises is itself to be held accountable for much of the lack of faith in the Resurrection. To ask men to believe that the long-buried dead shall come forth from the identical graves where they were once placed, come forth clad in their grave-clothes, their features marked, seamed, and furrowed, and every physical peculiarity exactly reproduced, so that they shall be as the men who walked the streets yesterday, or who lay upon sick-beds in their homes—to ask men to believe this is to ask their faith in an unscriptural view of the Resurrection, and many find themselves unable to accept it. The primitive Church wisely refrained from defining the mode of the Resurrection, and contented itself with the article of the Apostles' Creed: "I believe in the resurrection of the body and the life everlasting." Under this simple but comprehensive article of the Faith there are many individual opinions, and no one has any right to press his own view as the only correct representation of the doctrine, or to bind others to anything more than to the *general* statements of the doctrine found in the Scriptures.

The mode of the Resurrection has not been revealed.

It is a great mystery, but the power of the Infinite is pledged to its accomplishment, and therefore it is not to be thought a thing incredible that GOD should raise the dead.

Said a traveller :

I looked into the deep well in the crypt of the monastery, and when the guide lowered down his torch I saw at the bottom a heap of dust, the last vestiges of hundreds of bodies once animated with the breath of life. My soul grew heavy as the despairing question came to me, How can these live again ? and I fled away, but as I fled my eyes caught sight of the initials of the CHRIST carved upon the stone, and my doubts all fled, for He is the King of Death and Hell.

Cremation, then, does not antagonise any *allowable* view of the doctrine of the Resurrection, but does it not do violence to Christian sentiment in that it seems to heap indignity upon the bodies of the dead, and seems to prevent those tender ministrations by which the living show forth their belief that the body has been made sacred by the incarnation of the CHRIST and the indwelling of the Spirit ?

If it were proposed to bring back the funeral pyre of the ancients, with its revolting associations, it would indeed seem like treating the Christian dead with indignity ; but, as was before stated, the modern crematory furnace proposes to reduce rapidly, without offending any of the senses of the living, the remains of the dead.

It is not made, as was the case with the funeral pyre, a revolting spectacle, causing one to shrink away in terror ; but the funeral procession, coming as now from the church to the cemetery, finds, instead of a yawning grave or an open vault, a simple structure of bricks or stone, into which the coffin is lowered as the committal sentence is said. In an hour or two later, immediately following the committal, if it be so desired, the work of incineration is completed ; a few pounds of ashes are left in the clean, interior furnace, to be gathered up, placed in an urn, or buried in the ground.

It is probable that the crematory furnace may become the appendage to the mortuary chapel, so that the casket

may be lowered into the receptacle beneath, with the words of the committal sentence, "ashes to ashes."

There is no indignity cast upon the dead, but there is the avoidance of that possible indignity to which, in so many forms, our present practice of inhumation subjects the bodies of the departed.

Whoever has witnessed the revolting scenes connected with the removal of an old cemetery, upon which the advancing city has crowded; whoever has read of the ravages of floods and freshets, which are possible almost anywhere; and whoever has seen the condition of neglected graveyards, will freely admit that there are indignities possible under our present practice which are almost too shocking to recount.

One of the most recent cases of the kind was told, a few weeks ago, in a Philadelphia paper. The reporter described a scene in the very heart of the business section of that city—street gamins playing foot-ball with a human skull, and curiosity-seekers carrying off fragments of human bones. An old graveyard had been sold for business purposes. The graves were dug up, and the bodies reinterred; but when they began to excavate the earth still deeper for cellars, they found a layer of bodies underneath. It was literally one graveyard on top of another, and no one knew of the existence of the under one until the cellars were dug, and then, as no one wanted to be at the expense of removing these forgotten sleepers, there were enacted the revolting scenes described in the newspaper.

The rapid resolution of the material of the body into its primal elements most effectually prevents much of this; and, after all, it is only hastening a process which takes place in the grave, compressing into a few hours the slower process of many years, and defending the departed from the indignities which may come to any buried body in the long interval between its interment and its crumbling to dust.

Cremation does no indignity to the body, nor does it prevent those ministrations which affection and reverence prompt, and to which religion gives her sanctions.

There may be as now the preparations for the burial; the solemn procession of the Clergy, the Choristers, the mourners, and the friends; the burial chants, and words of Scripture; the tender address of comfort; the Eucharistic celebration, and whatever else may be thought by any to lend impressiveness to such an occasion, and to give expression to Christian hope. The only difference comes afterward, when, instead of leaving the body to the slow process of decay in the grave, this process is hastened by fire, and the ashes are committed to ashes—in the hope of a joyful resurrection of the body of the Christian departed. Nothing that is tender, seemly, or affectionate is necessarily checked.

But, after all, say some, if cremation is not unchristian, why should it take the place of interment by sepulchre and grave, which has prevailed so long?

It is not urged as a general substitute. Many who have examined it simply claim that it should be recognised as a proper mode, and as a mode to be desired under certain circumstances. The main argument in its favor is based upon sanitary considerations. Wherever the health of the living is affected by the burial of the dead there cremation *may* be practised, perhaps *should* be practised.

We are learning more, year by year, of the duty of keeping the air and the water free from contamination. The conditions under which human beings may live together in a healthful state are becoming better understood, and it is felt to be a religious duty to keep the body in health, as it is to keep it in chastity and temperance.

It becomes evident that the overcrowding of burial-places, and the very presence of burial-places within the limits of densely populated cities, are prejudicial to health. It is found, moreover, that the germs of certain contagious diseases have most persistent vitality, so that the bodies of those who die of these diseases retain the power of infection for ten, twenty, thirty, yes, for many more years later.

Instances of this kind are numerous and well authen-

ticated. A fever once decimated an English village, and the dead were buried where the feeble living could lay them. Fifty years later, when the growth of improvements made excavation necessary, the removal of the bodies buried during the time of the fever proved fatal to the workmen.

It is the opinion of some that the germs of certain diseases cannot be destroyed except by fire.

The reopening of one grave may spread a fever that will compel the making of a hundred new graves, and the taking of water from an impregnated spring or well may affect the health of a thousand.

And yet, when these sorrows come, they are spoken of by some as mysterious visitations of Divine Providence. The truth is they are the penalties which come from the breaking of His laws.

It cannot be questioned that the health and well-being of the living are as important as the repose of the bodies of the dead, and that circumstances may arise when it is a religious duty so to dispose of the remains of the dead as that they will not be sources of disease and death to others.

Within late years the protection of the residents of cities has been aimed at by the passage of laws forbidding intramural interments, and popular sentiment has grown favorable to the disuse of small and crowded burial-places and the laying out of others far beyond the built-up limits.

In one large city it was proposed to have a daily train, leaving its central and subordinate stations, and carrying the funeral companies to the far distant cemetery.

But who can tell how long before any cemetery, however distant it may be to-day, may be encroached upon by the advancing population of the town or city?

Burial-places which but twenty years ago were thought to be so far remote and so well protected that they would never be disturbed, are to-day within the lines of the cities' growth, and are doomed.

It may be said that there is room enough on and in the bosom of the earth for all the living and for all the

dead, and it is true ; but just as the area of occupation of the earth's surface by the living is determined by circumstances which are powerful enough to control selection of places of man's habitation, so there are circumstance which indicate the area within which men are forced to bury the dead. *If the dead are buried, they must find their resting-places near the abodes of the living.*

The very expense of transfer is now so considerable that in some places people in moderate circumstances bury their dead in cemeteries so crowded that the digging of a new grave is always the signal for disturbing graves previously made there. In other places the surroundings are so revolting that every delicate feeling is shocked, and the question is started, whether, after all, inhumation may not be so done as to be itself the most unchristian of all rites.

The problem therefore is, and always will be, how to dispose of the remains of the dead that the living may not suffer. Its answer may vary in different places and at different times. Burial at sea, burial in caves, and in the earth, embalming, and petrification—any of these methods may meet the demands in ordinary cases, but there are cases where cremation of the remains of the dead will more effectually than any other mode protect the living, and, inasmuch as cremation is not unchristian, it should be permitted and encouraged where it is deemed to be the best.

The purpose of this paper will be entirely misunderstood if any one gains the impression from it that it advocates the complete or general substitution of cremation for inhumation, or for any other mode of burial. The aim has been to remove one of the objections which prevent cremation's being properly considered by large classes of persons for whom life and death have vaster meanings than they have for the materialist and the unbeliever. To the Christian, the incarnation of the Son of GOD is the central fact in all history, for He is the new man, the LORD from heaven, the Head of the new creation, the first fruits of them that slept, and the beginning of the harvest of the redeemed.

In His becoming incarnate for us, and for our salvation, He has sanctified our humanity, and through His resurrection He has won the victory over death, and opened for us the gates of life.

His incarnation has far-reaching consequences, extending beyond the limited sphere of the present life, and affecting the destiny both of soul and of body.

We know not what we shall be, but when He shall appear we shall be like Him.

They who receive such beliefs as these, and who are inspired by hopes such as these, see the wondrous significance of existence, and appreciate the sanctity of the human body, as well as the sanctity of the human soul.

If cremation be in any way contrary to any precept of Christianity, or if it in any way be a dishonoring of the body redeemed by CHRIST, and made sacred by the indwelling of the HOLY SPIRIT, then it never can be even tolerated. It must be condemned and opposed.

But if cremation can be divested of the pagan associations which clustered about the old funeral pyre; if it in no way militates against any allowable view of the resurrection of the dead; if it can be conducted with religious rites to comfort the living with the hope of a future reunion of the Christian departed in the kingdom of God—then cremation is not unchristian.

On the contrary, as Christianity seeks the welfare of the living as well as the honor of the dead, there may be circumstances where the most Christian thing to do is to incinerate the remains of the dead.

GEORGE W. SHINN.

THE MISSION OF THE CHURCH.

ALL power is given unto Me in heaven and in earth. Go ye, therefore, and teach [make disciples of] all nations, baptising them in the Name of the FATHER, and of the SON, and of the HOLY GHOST: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.—S. Matthew xxviii. 18–20.

CHRIST loved the Church, and gave Himself up for it, that He might sanctify it, having cleansed it by washing of water with the word, that He might present the Church to Himself a glorious Church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing; but that it should be holy and without blemish.—Ephesians v. 25–27.

The house of GOD, which is the Church of the living GOD, the pillar and ground of the truth.—1 Tim. iii. 15.

These passages unite, inseparably, the idea of Missions with the idea of the Church. They are not so united in the practice of the Church to-day. There are Foreign Missions, Domestic Missions, Diocesan Missions, Parochial Missions, City Missions, Missions to the Jews, Missions to the Germans, Mexican Missions, Chinese Missions, Colored Missions, Indian Missions, Associate Missions, and simply "Missions," with preaching "Missioners;" the Women's Auxiliary to the Board of Missions; together with the various Boards, Committees, Agents, Appeals, Organs, and Treasuries to set forth their varied needs and claims. Converts, and children growing up in the Church, get their ideas from our practice, not from our theories. A parent or Sunday-school teacher imparts the information, from our standards, to the young that the Church is one, that her mission is to every creature, that every baptised person

is a missionary in his sphere and station as a member of CHRIST; but the instructed goes into the House of God to worship and listen to an appeal for this or that Mission, or possibly the relative merits and claims of two or three. The appeal comes to him as something distinct from his obligation as a member of that parish, and is placed in competition with a score of other *claims* of the same kind. It is more than probable that he goes home to hear at the dinner-table some grumbling remarks about "everlasting begging," that "charity begins at home," or that "it is dishonest to give until people pay their just debts." It is impossible to juggle with words in such a way as to make this practice harmonise with the ideas embraced in the passages of Scripture at the head of this article.

If the idea of the Church were purely subjective, in which the believer dwells in CHRIST, and CHRIST in him, by the inward consciousness of grace imparted, without prescribed duties and reciprocal obligations, in a visible society, then the absolutely voluntary system might be reasonably urged, and Mr. Moody be a good example of the Mission of the Church. If, on the other hand, the idea of the Church were entirely objective, and the believer joined to CHRIST through the *opus operatum* of the Church's ordinances, then Vaticanism is the highest type of Mission.

If the idea be merely to learn and live "the true, the beautiful, and the good," then the efforts of modern civilisation, impregnated by policy or tradition with Christian morality, to promote science, art, culture, and morals, as existing in embryo in the Divine Man, JESUS of Nazareth, are the legitimate missionary undertakings to promote the welfare of man.

If, however, the idea of the Church and her Mission is not of man at all, but the product of the Councils of Heaven, the field of our thought and action is circumscribed by the terms of the Divine idea.

Man is a Divine idea. "Let us make Man in Our image" is followed by the creation and the inspiration of the breath of life, and man became a living soul.

The Church is a Divine idea. "On this Rock I will build my Church" is followed by the incorporation of a handful of men (Adam-earth) into an organic Body, into which came the life-giving Spirit, and the Church became a living soul.

Bearing in mind that the Apostolic Commission, recorded by S. Matthew, was not written until (according to earliest date) twelve years after the fulfilment of the Divine idea on the day of Pentecost, it must be understood and interpreted according to the intention of the mind which uttered it, and limited to the Body which received a Divine Form and was animated by a Divine Life. S. Matthew must have so understood it. The people who read it, incorporated into the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship, continuing daily in the breaking of bread and prayers, must have so received it. Even supposing that S. Matthew or his readers did not so understand it, yet the later writings of S. John, and his record of Jesus' message to the seven Churches of Asia, together with the experience of history, would show that the Spirit who guided S. Matthew's pen was wiser than he thought. The experience of history shows that all efforts to obey the injunction, "Go ye into all the world," by other than the organic Life created and inspired from on high, and all dereliction or misapprehension of duty on her part, however successful they may appear to be for a longer or shorter period, eventually bring disgrace upon the cause which they represent. When S. Paul wrote to the Romans, "how shall they preach except they be sent," he implied, if our position be correct, that he who preached must first be called, tried, instructed, examined, and commissioned by that Body which received its creation and life from on high. For this reason the Church claims that it is neither pride nor assumption, but simply obedience to orders, which forbids the application of "Go ye into all the world" to Mr. A, B, or C, and confines it to the historic Church, which is the Body of CHRIST, "the pillar and ground of the truth."

In spite of the babel of voices, all claiming to speak

in the Name of and for CHRIST, as missionaries of the Cross, this apostolic Commission, taken in connection with the creation and inspiration of an organic Body, proves that one among them has a Divine right to be heard. Applying the Commission to this organic Divinely created Body, its terms make these propositions infallibly true:

1. There never could have been a time when He was not present with His Church.

2. Therefore He is present with His Church to-day.

3. Therefore His Church must be present on the earth to-day in order that He may be present with it.

4. His promise to it *as a Body* must exclude the promise to any member not in union with the Body.

If a man abide not in Me, he is cast forth as a branch, and is withered, and men gather them, and cast them into the fire, and they are burned.

5. It must exclude the promise to any organisation of subsequent formation which did not proceed from the will and action of the Body to whom the promise was given. Otherwise God is fickle and changeable, and the author of confusion, which is impossible.

6. Therefore any man or body of men which is not authorised by the Church, or cannot derive its authority successively from the Church, is not, as an organisation, a part of the organic life of the Church.

These propositions will hardly be disputed in the Church. The Divine creation and Divine sanction must be the first ground of confidence and hope in the one who preaches or ministers, and be the assurance given to those to whom he is sent—a Divine society, into which the believer is incorporated by outward sign and inward grace, by faith, by obedience, by love, by patience, by perseverance, through evil report and good report, by exaltation or by abasement, by joy and by suffering, and in which, if he continues unto death, he is saved now and forever.

There is no room for doubt—it is God's provision and promise. There is no room for boasting—it is God's

will and work. For this truth, bluntly told, S. Stephen could lay down his life, praying, "LORD, lay not this sin to their charge." A learned Jew, when convinced of the fact, could leave his home and friends, and dare, though small of stature and mean of speech, to tell the cultured Athenians, in their Areopagus, that they were mistaken even in their devout piety; or the same enthusiast, when a prisoner in one of the hovels of the Prænestian Quarter of Rome, thought it not beneath him to receive into his house those begging and fortune-telling fellow-countrymen who traded in old clothes and furniture, to give them the news of what had transpired at home. He was buoyed up by the fact that he had back of him a society of men, described by himself as a God-provided Ark of Safety, which comprehended "(1) Unity of Organisation—One Body; (2) Unity of Love and Power—One Spirit; (3) Unity of Headship—One Lord; (4) Unity of Belief—One Faith; (5) Unity of Sacraments—One Baptism; (6) Unity of Life and Sustenance—One God and Father of all; (7) Unity of Fruition—One Hope."

It would not be difficult to go through the New Testament, and, classifying its utterances, arrange them around these seven marks of the Divine Life of the Church, distinguishing the one life from the manifold forms of error, which even then were taking bodily shape; as in the same Scriptures the Divine life of Jesus of Nazareth can be distinguished from all other men.

Thus in Bible days there was no difficulty about Missions. The Missionary Society was the Church itself, animated by the indwelling Spirit. It was a Body, growing—men might be put to death, but the Body could not perish. It was an Army, marching—soldiers might fall, but it could not be defeated. Imperishable life, co-ordinate functions, reasonable discipline, unswerving obedience, and a daily routine of faith in the Divine Presence and Promise, which no peril of life or fear of death could interrupt. The missionaries were chained, but they preached and wrote letters in their

chains—"the word of God was not bound." They were beaten and inhibited—they returned thanks for the worthiness of suffering, and kept on preaching. They were imprisoned, and they sang hymns in their cells.

Unquestioning obedience marked the decisions of the Church, and were the signs of its progress. A dissatisfaction exists—Choose ye out seven men whom *we* may appoint over this business. Disputes arise—they go up to Jerusalem to settle the difference. Should any man decline to hear the Church, "note that man, and have no company with him." The honor and mission of the Church rises superior to family, private, or social interests. The questions, "Where is the money coming from?" "I have other business to attend to," "I think differently," never seem to have entered for a moment, when the voice of the Church once said, "It seems good to the HOLY GHOST and to us."

But while Scripture and history are clear upon the visible entity and Divine authority and mission of the Church, they contain no intimation of authority to relegate that mission to other and irresponsible parties. On the contrary, we discover by the Revelation of S. John, that the LORD Himself holds the Church accountable for shirking her work; and, with threats and warnings of utter extinction of power in certain localities unless she repent, clearly rebukes her for dereliction of duty and for sins of heart and life.

The fact that the Head of the Church Himself, years after His Ascension and session at the right hand of the FATHER, still claims and exercises judicial and executive power in His Church on earth clearly defines the *kind* of authority and power transmitted to the Church. It is neither judicial nor executive, but simply ministerial. The Apostolic Commission reads: "All authority in Heaven and *in earth* is given unto *Me*," not unto you. "*Go ye, therefore.*" By virtue of almighty power vested in Himself, He sends the Church to perform certain functions in His Name. The legal maxim, "*facit per alium, facit per se*," is found to operate to its fullest

extent in the performance of those functions, as witnessed in the mighty works which they did. But that maxim does not apply to a ministerial officer either in law or the Scriptures. No officer of a court can delegate his ministerial functions to another. He must perform them in person. No minister of the Gospel can delegate a layman to preach, baptise, or perform any other strictly ministerial function. He must do it himself. The terms of the Apostolic Commission, and the practice of the early Church, clearly show that the function of the whole Church was simply ministerial. While the Church is spoken of as a Kingdom, it is such only in connection with the King, and no instance can be found of the relegation of His judicial or executive power to the Church apart from Himself. While this is the theory of the Church in her standards, and its practice in so far as distinctly ministerial acts are concerned, it is not her practice in the actual employment *herself* of her own servants in the fulfilment of her first and essential duty. She delegates that to other parties. She calls, tries, instructs, examines, ordains, and commissions her officers, and then, by some strange fatuity, stopping at the threshold of the door leading out to the surging world, darkened by sin and laden with sorrow, whither she should go, she *hires out her servant* to irresponsible corporations or boards, who have no Divine origin or promise, and over whom she has but the faintest semblance of control.

It is not my purpose to rail at the parochial system, nor to belittle in any way the great missionary advances made in the last half century, the results of the noble self-sacrifices of the Clergy and Laity. In my judgment, the hope of the Church in this country, under God, lies in the parish—that is, in the faithful performance of the pastoral function from family to family. Indeed, the mission of the Church, so far as the Domestic field is concerned, is not the multiplication of agencies, nor the acquisition of new ground, but simply the culture of the ground already covered by Episcopal jurisdiction.

But it cannot be denied, nay, it is universally con-

fessed, that there is everywhere throughout the Church unrest, irritation, and worldliness; ignorance, irreverence, and strife; an enormous waste of strength and resources, with littleness and futility of results in comparison with our wealth, ability, and opportunities, which are simply appalling when contrasted with the LORD JESUS' evident intent in the creation and mission of the Church. It is not the purpose of this article to deal with these things symptomatically, nor to judge of the fidelity or infidelity of the Church by present and apparent results, but to test whether she is fulfilling her mission according to the letter of her orders and the spirit of her organic life. While it is true that there are scores of individuals in the Church whose annual incomes are larger than the entire missionary annual income of the Church, and hundreds of her Clergy living in isolation, distress, and poverty, yet these things in themselves reflect no more upon the Church's purity and honor than did similar things reflect upon her Master in His life in the flesh. Her integrity is to be tested, like His, by fidelity to the One that sends. If she can say, as He did, "I must do the will of Him that sent Me," "I do always those things that please Him," it matters little what the present or apparent results may be. But it is not true, and no one could reasonably claim, that the impotence of the Church is due to the persecutions of the generation in which she lives, because of her unswerving fidelity to every, the slightest, wish of her LORD, and her entire uncomplaining confidence in His provision for her sustenance.

Indeed, on the contrary, looking at these things for a moment symptomatically, every local dissension, every dispute over forms and ceremonies, or effort to bring any particular Christian community nearer to their LORD in faith and practice, reveals underneath so much individual corruption, and so little real love for the LORD and the honor of His Church, that it is thought better in most cases to bear the evils that exist by letting them alone, lest efforts to heal should create greater ones. It is absence of *grace* that is the real cause of impotence

in power, or barrenness of spiritual fruit, and if grace is absent the Spirit is absent, and if the Spirit be absent it is because the LORD has withdrawn it, and if He has withdrawn it it is because of the Church's infidelity to Him. While the promise of indestructible life is unconditional—"the gates of hell shall not prevail against it"—yet the permanence and power of the Spirit is conditional upon obedience to the law of the Church's being. The first duty of the Apostolic Commission is to "Go;" to go herself by the authority vested in Himself; to go in the power of the Spirit given through His obedience and intercession; to go by means of the resources which He will supply, until to the last man on the face of the globe is published the wondrous news of the redemption of mankind from sin and death by the Incarnation of the SON of GOD. The fulfilment of that duty was the Church's first love, and she became the light to that generation. Science now teaches that "light is but a form of motion." All the substances which compose light may be present, but without *motion* there is no light. The Creator of light is the Creator of the Church, and natural law operates in the spiritual world.

The Church may be present in the integrity of her being—in Ministry, Sacraments, Orders; living, speaking, acting—animated by the sacred remembrances of her Divine origin and lineage, and thrilled with joy in the contemplation of her coming "Marriage to the Lamb," yet give no light because unmindful of her first and essential duty to go to others with the tidings and the blessings she was commissioned to bear. "If that light in thee be darkness, how great is the darkness!" It will be noted that the message to the first of the seven Churches (Ephesus) gave her credit for her works and labor—for patience, for purity, for exposure of false apostles, for resignation and endurance—but warned her that she had left her "*first love*," for which, unless she repent, her *candle-stick* would be removed.

Dark ages are not necessarily those marked by absence of temporal and spiritual resources in the Church, but those marked by the failure to use those

resources as fast as they are given for publishing the Gospel.

It is as idle for the Church, as it was for King Saul when overtaken by the prophet Samuel, to offer vain excuses—to point to her *success*, to her sacrifices, to her popularity, or to throw responsibility upon “the people”—when cornered as to exact fulfilment of her instructions. “To obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams.” It is perhaps the most frequent apology made, when any return to strict compliance with the LORD’s word is suggested—“the *people* are not ready for it.” Do the *people* send the Church? Do they instruct her? Is she responsible to them? In the first great trial of King Saul he should have waited for the Prophet, according to his orders, in spite of the impatience and scattering of the people; and in the second and last opportunity given him he should have held to his instructions, and slain Agag and the sheep and oxen, in spite of the wishes of the people. His disobedience—a slight one it would seem to us—cost him his kingdom and his life. “The Spirit of the LORD departed from Saul, and an evil spirit from the LORD troubled him.” Is not the Church’s position a similar one? She is not primarily responsible for *results*, but for *obedience*, and *exact* obedience to His words, fearing only to displease her LORD, hoping only for His approving smile, and unmoved by immediate results, whether they come in stones of rage or multitudes of conversions, so long as she is sure of honest and unswerving obedience to His will. That certainly was His lot and course with respect to the Father, and it should be her lot and course in respect to Him. He was “led by the Spirit;” it may be to be tempted to do what He had the power to do, but not the command, or to refrain from suffering for which He had the command, but would not exert His power to escape. Both in the wilderness and in Gethsemane, and in all that lay between, the written Word was His guide and rule of action.

To recur now to the assertion that the Church does not fulfil her missionary ministerial function, but hires

out her servants to comparatively irresponsible boards or corporations. No argument or explanation is needed in support of this assertion. Practically the Church is a myth. Try to put your hand upon it in any given case, and you cannot. It is not the Bishop alone, it is not the Presbyterian, it is certainly not the Parish. No one of us would be willing to acknowledge that it was the Diocesan or General Convention, with its irresponsible, untaught element; much less is it a "Standing Committee." Is it the House of Bishops? Where is their Treasury? Who controls it, and who is paid from it? What are its sources of income? Where are their Deacons? No other question can be asked about Deacons. Where are their conciliar decrees, or their acts of discipline? Where is the disciple or "steward of the mysteries" who could go to that Body for help or redress, or who looks to it with any expectation of receiving official sanction and support?

It is idle to talk about the restoration of the *Diaconate* until there is a body who wants them. At present there is no demand. These hiring bodies and corporations want priests. Deacons' work can be done by laymen and women without cost, and money saved—saved for what? How can the question of *Discipline* be dealt with until the Body sanctioned by CHRIST Himself does its own work, holding its servants responsible according to her own standards, and sustaining them, also, against unfaithful or wicked men, who in their methods of sustaining the Church treat it as any ordinary secular enterprise?

Or how can primitive *faith* in the promise to supply whatever is needed be restored to the *people* of the Church, until the Church herself has confidence enough in her LORD to literally and personally obey His word?

If there be any visible, living, earthly Body called the CHURCH, having jurisdiction by Divine authority in these United States of America (and who can deny it in the face of Scripture promise and history), that Church has it in her power to solve all difficulties and break every shackle of erroneous custom the instant she repents and

returns to her first love. If it be true that the Church now has practically only two orders of ministers; has no godly discipline of the laity; has no treasury; has on practical faith in the LORD's promise to give bread for her sustenance and the Spirit for her work; has no power to open her sanctuaries for daily worship, and to feed her children weekly with the bread of life; has no means of sustaining her servants officially in the performance of their duty; has no effective means of carrying out her confessions of duty; and, above all, has no direct and primary official mission to anybody—is there not a call to repentance? That these are true cannot be denied—nay, they are universally confessed.

In the face of these facts, the extension of the Church is but the extension of a body under the burden and curse of sin, which must receive in due time the chastening, but loving, rod of CHRIST. Her first "Mission" is to the Mercy Seat, "with fasting, and weeping, and mourning." She may not be too proud to apply these words to herself, "Cast out first the beam that is in thine own eye," or "Make *me* a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me, *then* shall I teach Thy ways unto the wicked, and sinners shall be converted unto Thee."

This voice of repentance and contrition, preparatory to future faithful obedience, must proceed from the "upper room," from the successors of "the Twelve" in Official Council assembled. No one can do it, except by personal obedience and intercessory prayer to "move the Arm that moves the world." When the Church, as so understood, speaks in repentance and reformation, and sends the word down the line from Diocese to Diocese, with the authoritative, "It seems good to the HOLY GHOST and to us," and calls faithful Priests from farms, or schools, or literary retirement, where poverty or persecution have driven them; then will be seen, over again, the light which burst forth at Pentecost, and was rekindled at Smithfield, shining with increased and increasing splendor, borne and flashed and speeded from pole to pole and ocean to

ocean, by wire and rail, by steam and electricity, God's instruments prepared beforehand for closing suddenly the "consummation of the age," till

. . . every kindred, every tribe,
On this terrestrial ball,
To Him all majesty ascribe,
And crown Him LORD of all.

And "*then* shall the end come," according to His Word.

May the LORD speed the day when the Church shall touch the electric key of repentance and contrition which joins earth and heaven, to bring about this blessed consummation of hope.

THOMAS W. HASKINS.

THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF VIRGINIA.

ALMOST the first step toward the resuscitation of the Church in Virginia was in the direction of providing for theological education. That it was a wise step has been proved by the important part which its Theological Seminary has borne in that revival. It was in 1814 that, at a Convention comprising only seven clergymen, the Rev. Dr. Moore was elected to the Episcopate of Virginia, which had been two years vacant. As he was leaving New York for Virginia, we are told by Bishop Meade, it was suggested to him by Dr. John Augustine Smith, who was about to take charge of William and Mary College, to place a theological professor at that institution. A valuable theological library, formed by Commissaries Blair and Bray, was there; but the Chair of Theology had long been vacant. Accordingly, at the Convention of 1815, Bishop Moore submitted a formal proposition to this effect from Dr. Smith, and the Convention adopted a resolution, proposed by the Rev. William Meade, as chairman of the committee to whom the subject was referred, "that the Bishop and Standing Committee be . . . authorised to adopt measures for the promotion of an object . . . which may, under the blessing of God, be productive of the most beneficial consequences." The project, though alluded to in one or two of the Convention journals for the following years, seems to have languished from the difficulty of providing funds for the support of the Chair. In 1821, however, the Convention adopted a report and resolution of the committee on the State of the Church, presented by the Rev. William H. Wilmer, recommending that a theological school be established in Williamsburg, that a board

of trustees be appointed, with power to select one or more professors, and raise funds for the object, and to correspond with the Standing Committees of Maryland and North Carolina, "in order to ascertain whether the members of our Church in those States are disposed to co-operate with us in this important measure." The Convention also formally declared that in taking this step it did not intend any opposition to the General Seminary established by the General Convention, but deemed that there were "peculiar circumstances which render it necessary to cherish a seminary in the southern district." In 1822 the Trustees of the school appointed the previous year reported that no reply to their overtures had been received from North Carolina, and that there was difference of opinion in Maryland as to the usefulness of the school and its location at Williamsburg; also, that more than \$10,000 had been raised for the object. A year or two before this, the Rev. Reuel Keith had been elected rector of Bruton parish, Williamsburg, and Professor of History and Humanities in William and Mary, and, it was understood, would instruct in Divinity any students who might apply; and the Trustees of the Seminary, probably in the autumn of 1822, also elected him as a professor on their foundation. Only one theological student is known to have attended on Dr. Keith's instructions during the two years he was at Williamsburg, and the Trustees came to the conclusion that the situation was unsuitable.

There were probably two determining causes which fixed Alexandria as the place to which the institution was removed. The first was that the District of Columbia, which at that time included Alexandria, was the head-quarters of the "Society for Educating Pious Young Men for the Ministry of the Protestant Episcopal Church." This society had its origin at a meeting of Clergy and laity at the laying of the corner-stone of a church in Georgetown in 1818, and at this time embraced nearly all the Clergy and active laity in the District and the adjacent portions of Virginia and Maryland. It thus formed a centre of influence on the subject of theological educa-

tion, and naturally attracted the new theological school to its neighborhood. Besides, it gave substantial aid, by a vote of several hundred dollars, toward the payment of Professor Keith's salary, and by the promise of future support. "The pledge thus given by the Society," says Dr. Hawks [*Ecc. Contrib.*, i., p. 265] "had the happy effect of bringing the two institutions thus united conspicuously before the members of the Church, and hence they afforded to each other mutual aid." The second cause was the failure, through the opposition of Bishop Kemp, of a scheme to establish a theological seminary in Maryland, which the Convention of that Diocese had adopted in 1822. Upon its coming to nought, the influence and resources which it had gathered were, to a large extent, transferred to the Virginia school, and to these Maryland friends Alexandria was the most convenient place. It is said that the conclusion to establish the seminary in Alexandria was reached at a conference at the house of Dr. Thomas Henderson, in Georgetown, at which were present, besides the host, the Rev. William Meade, the Rev. William Hawley, the Rev. William H. Wilmer, and Francis S. Key.

As the result of all these preliminary efforts, the Theological Seminary of Virginia was opened on the 15th of October, 1823, in the lecture-room of S. Paul's Church, Alexandria, with the Rev. Reuel Keith as Professor. Some 14 students were enrolled during the first session, and the Rev. Dr. W. H. Wilmer, the rector of S. Paul's, aided Professor Keith by taking charge of the department of Systematic Theology. During the following year 21 students were in attendance, and the Rev. Oliver Morris, the rector of Christ Church, Alexandria, was added to the faculty as Professor of Pastoral Theology. He, however, died in 1825, and the Rev. Dr. Wilmer, removed to Williamsburg, in 1826. The Rev. Edward R. Lippitt was elected a regular professor in 1825, and from that time until 1836, when Professor Packard was elected, shared with Dr. Keith the entire work of instruction.

The Trustees, through Rev. William Meade, reported

to the Convention of 1827, that "from the first opening of the school very serious inconveniences were found to attend the residence of the students and professors in a town," . . . that "the want of a building exclusively devoted to their use, and where they may live in the most retired manner and in the simplest way, has been deeply felt," and that it had therefore been determined to provide accommodations for the Seminary in the country near Alexandria. In the following year Dr. Meade reported that under the permission given them, the Trustees had, in June, 1827, purchased a farm of 62 acres, with a brick dwelling-house upon it, near which they had erected, at a cost of about \$3,000, a brick building for the use of the students. This new and permanent site for the Seminary, which, says Bishop Meade, in the report just quoted, "on account of the healthiness of its atmosphere, the beauty of its prospect, and its many conveniences has given universal satisfaction," is in the county of Fairfax, on a hill 250 feet above the Potomac, two and a half miles west of Alexandria, and seven miles southwest from Washington. During the next few years other plain buildings were erected, which were sufficient for all practical purposes for nearly 30 years.

Within a few hundred yards of the Seminary, on an adjoining tract of 100 acres, is the Diocesan High School, which was founded in 1839, by the Trustees of the Seminary, as a Church school of high standard, and in the hope, which has had ample fulfilment, that some of its pupils would be led to turn their attention to the sacred ministry. It numbers a principal and four assistant teachers, and about 100 pupils.

All this property was for many years held by a number of trustees, elected from time to time by the Convention. Owing to the prejudice in the State of Virginia against religious corporations, no act of incorporation could be obtained until 1854, when the Seminary was incorporated under the title of "The Trustees of the Protestant Episcopal Theological Seminary and High School in Virginia," with power to the Trustees to fill vacancies in the board. At present the board consists of the

Bishops of Virginia and West Virginia, together with 7 Clergymen and 6 laymen resident within those States. Under the assurance of security of title, which the incorporation gave, the endowment fund of the institution was much increased, and friends in different parts of the country replaced from time to time the cheap and plain buildings of the early days of the seminary with others more costly and convenient.

Distinct from the High School, and also from the Seminary, although it is housed in the same cluster of buildings with the latter, is the preparatory department, formally organised in 1858, the object of which is to supply to postulants for the ministry, who are unable to resort to college, such training in academic branches of learning as is required of candidates for Orders. Instruction is given by two teachers, under the supervision and with the assistance of the professors.

The exercises of all these institutions were suspended during the years of the Civil War [1861-65] and the buildings were used as hospitals for the United States forces. In the matriculation book of the Seminary is the following entry by Rev. Dr. Sparrow in regard to the Seminary during this period.

In the month of May, 1861, the officers and students of this theological seminary were interrupted in their duties by national calamities which then fell upon us. The students dispersed to their homes, North and South; the Rev. Dr. May went to his relatives in Philadelphia, the Rev. Dr. Packard to his, in Fauquier County, Va., and the Rev. Dr. Sparrow to Staunton, Augusta County, Va. In Staunton, which, with the sanction of the Trustees, was made the temporary location of the Seminary, some students reassembled for instruction, and for five months Dr. Packard and Dr. Sparrow taught them in conjunction. This was during the months of December to April, 1861-62. After that, the former having returned to his family in Fauquier, the latter retired, to avoid the dangers and excitements of war, to Halifax County, and there taught five months. After that he returned to Staunton again, and there remained, with the students whom the conscription had left him, to the end of the war.

In the autumn, after the close of the war, the Seminary was reopened by Drs. Sparrow and Packard. Its buildings and grounds, used by the Government with-

out compensation, were much injured, and a considerable portion of its funds were swept away in the wreck of most Southern investments. The people of Virginia were able to do little to repair its losses; but kind friends in portions of the country less distressed by war came to its relief, and in a few years it was substantially on its old footing. Its library, which was for the most part made up of gifts of books or of small personal libraries of Clergymen and members of the Church, has of late years much increased, and now numbers about 12,000 volumes. Its steady increase is assured by means of the income of the Robertson fund, founded by an alumnus for the purpose. The present buildings are as follows:

1. The Library, erected in 1855, from a legacy of Mrs. Sophia Jones, of Virginia, and a gift of John Bohlen, of Philadelphia.
2. S. George's Hall, containing students' rooms, erected in 1856, by a lady of S. George's Church, New York.
3. Aspinwall Hall, erected in 1858-59, by William H. and John L. Aspinwall, of New York. It contains the prayer-hall, lecture-rooms, and students' rooms.
4. Bohlen Hall, erected in 1859-60, by John Bohlen, of Philadelphia. It contains the refectory and students' rooms.
5. Meade Hall, containing students' rooms, erected in 1860 by the alumni, as a memorial to Bishop Meade.
6. The Chapel, a convenient and beautiful building, erected in 1880, on the site of a former chapel, by alumni and friends in all parts of the country.
7. Wyman Hall, a commodious and completely equipped gymnasium, erected in 1883, by the contributions of many friends, largely of Samuel G. Wyman, of Baltimore.
8. A chapel, erected in 1883, for the colored people of the neighborhood, by the contributions of alumni and others. In addition to these are four Professors' houses in different parts of the seminary tract.

Some of the Professors of the Seminary have been already mentioned. The following is a complete list of them:

Reuel Keith, D.D., 1823-41; William H. Wilmer, D.D., 1823-26; Oliver Norris, 1824-25; Edward R.

Lippitt, 1825-42; William Jackson, 1827; Charles Mann, 1833; Joseph Packard, D.D., 1836-; William Sparrow, D.D., 1841-74; James May, D.D., 1842-61; John Johns, D.D., 1854-76; Cornelius Walker, D.D., 1866-; J. J. McElhinney, D.D., 1872-; Kinloch Nelson, D.D., 1876-. For many years, up to 1853, when Bishop Johns came to reside near the Seminary, Bishop Meade delivered a course of lectures on Pastoral Theology to the students every spring.

Of some of the deceased professors some further brief mention is possible. Dr. Keith was a man of exact and extensive learning, particularly in the department of exegesis, and of unusual power and earnestness as a preacher. He was the translator of Heugstenberg's *Christology of the New Testament* [Alexandria, 1836]. Dr. Sparrow had a wide influence upon the religious thought of his day through the numerous pupils who felt the inspiration of his teaching. He had a robust and powerful intellect, trained to acute logical analysis, a sturdy independence of judgment, a character conspicuous for earnestness, sincerity, and truth, and for the most fervent piety. A number of occasional sermons and addresses were published during his life; also, a posthumous volume of *Sermons*, New York, 1876 [see his *Life and Correspondence* by C. Walker, D.D., New York, 1876; also article in Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia, by Rev. R. H. McKim, D.D.]. Dr. May was a man greatly beloved and honored both as a teacher and as a man [see his *Life and Letters*, by Rev. A. Shiras].

The present faculty, with the topics of instruction assigned to each, are as follows: Dean—Rev. Joseph Packard, D.D., Biblical Learning; Rev. Cornelius Walker, D.D., Systematic Divinity and Homiletics; Rev. J. J. McElhinney, D.D., Apologetics and Church Polity; Rev. Kinloch Nelson, D.D., Ecclesiastical History, Pastoral Theology, and Canon Law.

This Seminary has been, throughout its whole history, the exponent of Virginia Churchmanship, that is to say, of the moderate Low-church school. Bishop Johns, in

his address at the dedication exercises, in 1859, summed up the character of its teaching as follows :

1. Care has been taken that in this school the doctrines of the Protestant Reformation, which are the doctrines of the Scriptures, and of which justification by faith is the keynote, should be taught with distinctness and decision.

2. The ecclesiastical polity inculcated and maintained here has been that set forth in the preface to the Ordination Service—so much, no more, no less ; conservative, but not exaggerated or exclusive. In a line, the Three Orders have existed from the Apostles' times, and no other ministry to be recognised "in this Church."

3. The cultivation of personal piety.

The graduates of the Seminary at this date (1884) number 572, besides whom 186 have taken a partial course of study within its walls, making in all 758, of whom 514 are now living. They are scattered throughout the United States and the missionary stations of the Church. Thirty-nine have been foreign missionaries, in Greece, in Africa, in China, and Japan.

Of the Bishops of the Church in this country, the following received their theological training either wholly or in part at this seminary: Bishops Polk, Boone, Payne, Kip, Bedell, Say, R. H. Wilmer, C. M. Williams, J. P. B. Wilmer, Young, Whittle, Wingfield, Dudley, Perry, Penick, Peterkin, H. C. Potter, Randolph, Boone (the younger).

The number of students at present, including those in the Preparatory Department, is 38. The largest number ever at the seminary was 73 in the year 1860-61.

JOSEPH PACKARD, JR.

AN OUTLINE OF PAULINE PSYCHOLOGY.

ALTHOUGH it was by no means the aim of S. Paul to furnish us with a treatise on Mental Science, yet it may be plainly seen from his writings that he had a definite system and terminology for the various parts and phenomena of man's spiritual nature. A careful examination of the Epistles of S. Paul will abundantly prove this, and it is my purpose to set forth, plainly and without technicalities, some results of such an examination.

S. Paul's general division of the nature of Man is into three parts—Spirit, Soul, and Body (*πνεῦμα, ψυχή, σῶμα*) [*1 Thessalonians* v. 23].

We may, however, dismiss the last article of the division, as signifying the mere shell or tabernacle in which, the other linked portions of the nature sojourn. Nor is it necessary to discuss how far these two latter are parts of a whole, or merely modes and modifications of the same unity, as the convex and concave in a curve, which, according as the curve is widened or contracted, lose and gain in their several characteristics; or, in fact, exchange the convexity for the concavity, and *vice versa*, if by another bend the curve is reversed.* We must deal with them here as individual, at least as distinct, powers, as the Apostle appears to deal with them.

And first, as to the soul (*ψυχή*). This seems to correspond with what modern writers style the parts of Intellect and Sensibility. In the *ψυχή* are included, first, all the passions of man down to the lowest of them; these lowest animal passions being comprised by the Apostle under the term *σάρξ*, the flesh, deriving its

* Aristotle: *Eth. Nic.* i. 13.

motives from brute instincts, and corresponding with Aristotle's τὸ ἄλογον τῆς ψυχῆς. The foundations of this division of the ψυχὴ strike down into the merely physical functions of human nature, and the obscure borderland which divides the being of man, as conscious and rational, not only from that of a brute, but even of a vegetable.* The highest functions of this first division of the ψυχὴ are those of the heart, καρδία. The affections of the heart under ordinary conditions move within the orbit of moral law [*Romans* ii. 14]. It is the heart that prompts the confession of a faith in things which are the objects of its passion of hope [*Romans* x. 9, 10]. But here also appears the long list of lower impulses: ὀργή, and its perversion θυμός; ὀρεξίς, and its darker counterpart ἐπιθυμία, with the remaining train of depraved impulses, which, when they infect the intellectual part of the soul, result in φρόνημα σαρκός; when they issue in overt act (ἔργον), realise the hideous catalogue given in *Galatians* v.

The second and Intellectual part of the ψυχὴ reaches its highest point in νοῦς, which, according to Aristotle, who knew no πνεῦμα in man, is the sovereign function of human nature.† This νοῦς is the faculty by which we know and understand [*1 Corinthians* xiv. 14]. S. Paul has spoken of it in its highest manifestation, σοφία, wisdom; in its active exercise, διάνοια; in its arguments and reasonings before the tribunal of conscience, λογισμός; in its formulation of a settled, sound opinion, γνώμη. He has spoken of the influence of the lower parts of the emotional ψυχὴ as blinding and hardening its powers [*2 Corinthians* iii. 14; *Ephesians* iv. 17, 18]. He has even gone a step farther, and spoken of its utter perversion; then it becomes debased, and, like spurious coin, deceives those who are relying on it, failing to give the guidance and help which lies within its essence to afford. This is the ἀδόκιμος νοῦς.

On the other hand, when the balance is duly kept between νοῦς and καρδία, we have as the result the human

* Aristotle: *Eth. Nic.* i. 13, 11.

Ibid. vi. 2, 1.

perfection of σωφροσύνη, the highest type of character known to heathen moralists : where has been developed a complete ἐγκράτεια and control over the lower promptings and appetites of the σάρξ, and a perfect clear-sightedness in "the eye of the soul," the νοῦς.* The human ψυχή then so far becomes an unruffled and unclouded mirror that it can receive impressions and images of things higher than and distinct from itself ; nay, like that deep over which the Divine Power hovered or brooded, it can also lend itself to the plastic touch which may out of formless void produce beauty and harmony in accordance with an eternal archetype.

For νοῦς, apart from its intellectual faculties, as the knowing and discerning part of man in mental perception, has also a moral insight, and can judge, under proper conditions, of the conformity of human conduct with a moral standard ideal and Divine. Not only can man by mental apprehension clearly know and see the power and Divine nature of God from the works of creation [*Romans* i. 20], but can also take some measure of his moral proportions. This faculty provides man by nature with a basis of morals, and a test of right and wrong. The action of νοῦς, in standing as judge over the whole range of desires and emotions and reasonings in the soul, is styled by S. Paul συνείδησις, consciousness [2 *Corinthians* v. 11 ; cf. 1 *Peter* ii. 19] ; or, in its complete and technical meaning, conscience. Though this recognition of Divine standard of morality thus appears in νοῦς as an innate faculty, yet this συνείδησις may lose its power of correct discernment [1 *Corinthians* viii. 7, 12] ; in short, there is no point which the Apostle implies more clearly than the proneness to error and perversion of man's highest faculties. But over these, as if they were only subordinate faculties of perception and feeling, of which the highest from a moral stand-point is συνείδησις, he sets the spirit of man—τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. Joined in complete union with the ψυχή through all its complexities this spirit certainly is. Not a throb, from the

* Aristotle : *Eth. Nic.* i. 6, 12.

lowest depth of the *σάρξ* up to the purest and most disinterested longing of the affections, *καρδία*, but reaches to the spirit of man, which, like some subtle tissue, vibrates to the emotions of the soul. Not a thought, a conception, a debate of reason, but transfers itself from the intellect to the spirit, with which it is closely interwoven. Yet though in complete union with *ψυχή*, the *πνεῦμα* is still distinct and independent. It is the immortal bridegroom wedded in darkness to the mortal spouse, as in the exquisite episode of Apuleius, whose face and full beauty she may never see, whose air she shall never breathe, whose celestial affinities are closed to her forever. For though crushed and ignored, sometimes consciously so, by other parts of the invisible man, this spirit is pre-eminently the distinguishing seal of our race as a range of creatures superior to all other organisms known to us. And though on the one side it is intimately united with the *ψυχή*, and especially in the moral development of the *νοῖς* into *συνείδησις* [1 *Corinthians* ii. 11], as well as with its highest rational functions [*Ephesians* iv. 23 ; *Colossians* i. 9] ; on the other side it is actually the pole of contact with the Divine Being through the medium of His Spirit [*Romans* viii. 16].

The vague word used by the Apostle suggests a metaphorical interpretation of the function of *πνεῦμα*. As the breath, though necessary to life, is distinct from the grosser body, which serves as the machinery and vessel of life, so is the spirit of man necessary to the completeness of his nature, to the perfect development of his life, yet distinct from that life. The spirit pervades and invests the highest summits of his nature, like the atmosphere which spreads between earth and heaven, and is the theatre for the activity of all soft and lovely, all mysterious and terrific, influences and phenomena of the sky. The spirit of Man stands between God and man, upon whom, through this intervening faculty, descends every energy, every illuminating flash, which reaches him from the Father of his being.

Though the closest ties connect this spirit with each and every faculty of the soul, it yet stands in direct

antagonism with the animal part. The Apostle uses the strongest language to express this persistent hostility [*Galatians* v. 17, ἀντίκειται]. Yet, in spite of this instinctive opposition, which renders the spirit the instrument for crushing and killing the baser nature [*Romans* viii. 13], sometimes the spirit, on its human side, is degraded by the pollution of the flesh, and the two are classed for a while as marked with the same stain [*2 Corinthians* vii. 1].

But the most notable part of S. Paul's teaching with regard to the spirit of man is in its relation to the Spirit of God. The Spirit of God joins and confirms the witness of the spirit of man with regard to man's origin and destiny [*Romans* viii. 10]; but more than this. The plain teaching of the Apostle is that the Divine Spirit makes its local habitation in man's body, just as really as his own ψυχή resides there [*1 Corinthians* vi. 19]. First operating upon the πνεῦμα of man, it passes thence to the intellect, νοῦς [*Ephesians* iv. 23, 24], to the heart, καρδιά [*Eph.* xvi. 17, 18], down to the very lowest impulses of the animal being [*Galatians* v. 16]. The result is literally an organic change in the human nature of the individual [*Galatians* vi. 15; cf. *2 Corinthians* v. 17].

The whole motive of S. Paul's life, the system of ethics which he teaches, rests on this vital doctrine. The addition of the Divine element to man's spiritual being is the addition of a new set of faculties. The man is transformed [*Romans* xii. 2]. His intellect reaches a degree of illumination which transcends the supreme effort of unaided human mind [*1 Corinthians* ii. 14]. Only in accordance with S. Paul's teaching can it be true, as the great French preacher says: "*Omnipotentia supplex*—the prayerful has the power of God." For, when man approaches the mercy-seat, within himself he fears a supernatural suppliant, whose pleading cry, though it proceeds from a human bosom, could find no interpretation in human language, and is read as the wish of the suppliant from within the temple of whose body it proceeds by Him who searcheth the heart [*Romans* viii. 26, 27].

When the energies of the soul have thus become absorbed into the domain of the spirit, the man, no longer σαρκικός, or ψυχικός, is styled by S. Paul πνευματικός [*Romans* viii. 9; cf. *Jude* xix.].

It is with such premises as these that Paul lays upon man, as an actual obligation, the possession of faith, *i.e.*, belief in truths humanly speaking most incredible, and well-nigh incapable of verification by the intellect. Nor could he without such a clear understanding of the connection of man's spirit with God's Spirit have pitched so high his ideal of human benevolence [*1 Corinthians* xviii.]. To have raised belief from the sphere of the intellect to a moral plane, to have elevated love for others to the altitude of self-annihilation, only escapes absurdity in view of the Apostle's repeated statements as to the human metamorphosed into the superhuman, nay, into the Divine. It is with this understanding that we take as hardly an adequate statement of sober fact his own ecstatic avowal in *Galatians* ii. 20; and, in the light of this wonderful doctrine, his claim of moral omnipotence sounds neither exaggerated nor overstrained.

W. EPIPHANIUS WILSON.

ART IN WORSHIP.

THE place of Art in Worship is a subject frequently discussed, and no inconsiderable amount of criticism has grown out of its manifestations in Church architecture, ritual, music, and decoration. In general, however, it is noticeable that Art is looked at "askance and strangely," as something foreign to worship, and which, under all circumstances, should be applied with judicious circumspection.

So long as Art is thus viewed—as a thing apart, as something to be outwardly applied, or superadded in the form of embellishment, it must necessarily be false and meretricious, both in principle and in form. For Art, in the true sense, is simply a form of expression, and, in its finest phase, a manifestation of beauty. This beauty does not spring from an after-thought; it is generic and structural, its roots lying as deep as those of truth, of which it is but the perfect bodying-forth in form.

The seed that is cast into the ground brings forth flower and fruit, after its kind, in that order of perfection to which we apply the term *beautiful*. This quality of the flower is inherent in the seed, for wherever it is cast into the ground, the conditions of growth being present, it develops into like forms of beauty and perfection. So is it with character, and that "beauty of holiness" rooted in character, which is not dependent upon external environment for its manifestation; for whether this be favorable or unfavorable, that which springs from character remains under all circumstances true to its own nature. And so likewise of any sentiment or principle of religion aspiring to outward expression;

whether it be deep-rooted, or merely superficial, its character is betrayed by its manifestation in forms of Art. The inmost principle is known by the outermost fruits, and the invisible things are clearly seen and understood by the things that are made. This is sound doctrine in Art no less than in religion, for all forms of expression are but different phases of the same general truth, viz., that exterior forms are a revelation of interior motives or principles; and it is very easy to determine whether Art has been laid hold of extraneously, as an after-thought, and outwardly applied, or, whether it is a natural, orderly unfolding of generic truths which necessarily clothe themselves in appropriate forms as they aspire to outward expression.

For most minds the true and the beautiful are so separated as to be regarded as quite independent of one another in their outward manifestations, as though a thing may be beautiful without being true, or true without being beautiful. Now this may indeed be the case with respect to external facts, to things lying on the surface of life, but it is not the case with deep-rooted principles of truth, especially those which give birth to beauty in Art; the religious impulse must be pure in order to manifest itself in forms of purity, and it must be sincere in order to a beautiful form of expression. For beauty, primarily, is the resultant of harmony or fitness. Michael Angelo, at the close of a long life devoted to the pursuit of Art, defined the beautiful as "the purgation of superfluities." This is not a common belief, which regards beauty as a form of embellishment, as a thing apart from truth, declaring its opinion by preferring, as the phrase goes, "the unadorned truth to any added grace that Art may lend." To reconcile such views of Art, or of beauty, is out of the question, the true and the false having nothing in common. If Art is expression, then perfect Art is manifested in forms that perfectly express the motive or thought. Prose is a form of Art best fitted to express an order of ideas constituting a plane of exact thought dealing with fact, in which the reason predominates; but when thought

pierces deeper, penetrating beneath the region of external fact, it discovers a more interior sense of truth having an emotional character not adapted to prosaic statement, and in giving expression to ideas thus more interiorly revealed a form of Art that is more suggestive than prose is in demand. One who is alive to this more interior apprehension of truth may not consciously exclaim, Go to, let us write a poem! but in giving expression to these deeper emotional ideas a rhythmic form instinctively follows as the natural outcome, or correspondence, of that which could find adequate expression in no other way. So in sacred Scripture, when the prophets rose to a state of great exaltation, when the thought was deepest and most fervent, their prose insensibly merged into rhythmic form, while flashes of a more intense light broke forth. These passages may be clearly distinguished as more interiorly true and more exteriorly beautiful than the language which precedes or follows them; their inspiration was derived from a deeper source, blending mind and feeling as one organ of emotional thought; for, contrary to current beliefs, the emotions lie deeper than thought, the most interior conception of the Godhead being that of Love.

This blending of thought and feeling in rhythmical expression is profoundly illustrated in the Psalms, and in the later Isaiah, and very strikingly in the Gospels, and in the Epistles of Paul—notably in that passage on charity, or love, in the thirteenth chapter of *1 Corinthians*. We cannot think that Paul was conscious of this rhythmic tendency at the time; he must have felt, however, that his perception of truth was more interior at that moment than when he was occupied with questions of Jewish law; that his mind was then dealing with substance rather than with forms, and the expression of a deeper emotional impulse determined the expression instinctively and imperatively. And the same may be said of those extraordinary images thrown out in Ezekiel and in the Apocalypse—great vague shadows of spiritual truths projected across the horizon of

the natural, too deep for rational utterance, altogether incapable of prosaic definition.

Now this is not very far away from the root of the matter concerning expression in Art in any form. The principles underlying all forms of expression are fundamentally the same; they are all reducible to some all-embracing law of manifestation which, like the law of gravitation, affects all bodies alike, be they great or small, simple or complex—and expression is simply giving *body* to ideas, manifesting in outward form some inward motive. If the beauty of this form be outwardly determined or applied, superadded to some simple form of expression as a mere embellishment, it must necessarily be false and obtrusive, as well as insincere and meretricious. If the mind, occupied with any form of Art whatever, is moving upon the surface of things, the thought having no generic connection with fundamental principles or interior convictions, it must surely manifest itself outwardly as a superficial or expressionless form of “beauty” that is without real merit, like that which results from prevalent methods of procedure in Church “decoration,” the thing being contracted for as a merely mechanical operation.

If ideas of Art are derived from what is best in Art, determining the constituents of excellence from direct observation of that which is truly “fine” or beautiful in Art, it is clearly perceived that the highest order of beauty is more nearly related to economy of means than to lavish expenditure. A decadence in Art is always marked by the substitution of profuse and costly materials for inventive thought. If we turn to the Greeks for illustration, we find that their greatest epoch, the age of Pericles, was marked by simple yet perfect forms of Art, whether in sculpture or in architecture. The Parthenon is but an assemblage of a few rhythmically related *lines*, bounding solids, that may neither be added to, nor subtracted from, without marring the beauty of the whole. The economy of the Art is perfect; it is indeed a “purgation of superfluities” in the bodying forth of an aspiration in the form of a sacred temple expres-

sive of pagan beliefs. And the mediæval cathedral is the outcome of a like sincerity of aim: with all its richness it manifests a true economy of means. The task was a larger one, involving more varied and complex elements, of a part with the distinctive character of the ideas that lay at the root of the inspiration. For the worship of the one was centred in nature; that of the other in spirit; the aspiration of one was consummated in time, the other in eternity; one was content with a healthy, active, open-aired, natural existence; the other aspired to a world beyond. Greek Art is consummated in a realised ideal; while Mediæval Art aimed to suggest something beyond the form that hovered unseen, as it were, above the forms, and was discerned through them by an inward spiritual sense. On entering those beautiful structures of the XIII. and XIV. centuries the sensibility must be dull indeed if it experience no sensation that tends to expand and uplift the mind. The vast spaces, the great height, the groups of slender shafts springing so lightly into the dimly lit vaults above, overcome that sense of mass, or weight, which anchored the Greek temple to the earth. There is likewise an atmosphere peculiar to the place; a solemn air of repose seems to hush the turbulence of external thoughts; vast, solemn twilight shades are traversed by glimmering rays, or high aloft, through the great rose-windows of the transept, the irruptive and dazzling light streams in with all the splendor of setting suns. However cheerless without, the sun always seems to pour in through these roseate openings. The vast structure itself, the sculptured traceries and saintly forms, the harmonies of color, the glancing light or depths of shade, the pictured altar-piece, the solemn chant, the sound of the deep-toned organ reverberating through the nave—these all conspire in one grand symphony of Art, as in some vast volume of orchestral harmony are mingled the qualities of many instruments. The senses are as the strings of a lyre touched by the finger of a master-musician.

The mediæval cathedral is a thing perfect in itself, in

every way worthy and acceptable as a means of churchly worship, as distinguished from the more interior worship of the individual; for it is only when men meet together in external relations that they must agree upon a form, and that which addresses the greatest variety of mind without a perversion of truth is most effective in fulfilling the ends of form. Uniting with this a religious consecration of the first-fruits of all that is pure, lovely, and of good report, these structures became the beautiful attestation of an aspiring religious hope. But when this interior and consecrating motive was reversed, when the outward form was substituted for inward substance, the life departed from these beautiful creations of Mediæval Art; their beauty in part remains, but it is no longer the same; they resemble a flower that has withered on its stem, retaining its color and form, but no longer having the bloom and perfume of life. It was originally prompted by a true impulse. A religious aspiration should naturally follow in the footsteps of the Divine, by clothing its thought with beauty, for "He hath made everything beautiful in His time," and it is the end and consummation of the Christian's hope even to "Behold Him in His Beauty." Beauty being but the perfect outward manifestation of the true and the good—a harmony, an expression—we do not improve matters much by putting out our eyes. The iconoclast thought we did, however, and with his heavy hand he fractured these mediæval visions as with a hammer's blow. The penalties of guilt seem always to fall upon the innocent; that which had once blossomed forth from a sincere and pure aspiration, bore the consequences of a later perversion of heart. The zeal of reform does not stand upon nice distinctions, and all these outward manifestations of a fervent faith—the true with the false, the pure with the meretricious—were regarded as but one general representative of a perverted ecclesiasticism which the human heart repudiated and rightly rebelled against.

A reforming impulse, having to stem and turn a current, manifests a zeal which, when the current is once fairly turned, becomes in time an evil swinging, as a vast

pendulum, to excess in the opposite direction. The instruments of reform, therefore, find their proper place not at the head of institutions, where a judicious conservatism should reign, but lower down in the general body, where zeal and heat may work a change that will not be permitted to run into excess. Reforms, therefore, and all new impulses which purify faith, naturally spring from the laity, who represent the heart, the life, and not the institution whose office it is to maintain and transmit the acquisitions that spring from this life. With rare exception the prophets and apostles of reform, in all ages, attest this truth. When a righteous zeal has effected a change of sentiment, or reformed an evil, this same zeal, when clothed with official authority, runs naturally into excess in an opposite direction, from the effect of its own tidal strength. We find zealous ecclesiastics breaking the beautiful glass of the cathedrals with hammers; the impetuous Knox crying from the pulpit, pointing to the organ-loft, "Take out that chest of whistles!" The temple was bereft of all that is beautiful, without discrimination. That which originally was an aid to worship, from its having become a substitute through a perversion of heart—of which it was not the true cause—was utterly repudiated, cast out, and trodden under foot. The battle fairly over, the victory won, a more sober judgment sees plainly that there has been wanton destruction of innocent things, and with slow and gradual steps the despised glories are again recovered and incorporated with the new life: and this is what all Protestant religious bodies are busy about just now, when the truth of Luther's words are fully recognised—that we cannot afford to yield up all the good things to the evil one! For no beautiful or expressive aid to worship is in itself evil, but a perversion of truth may darken even that which is heavenly.

There is an ebb and flow to all activities of thought, an action and reaction, which, unless the eye takes in all extremes, tends on the one side or the other to fanaticism. By identifying excess with any one tendency of thought the judgment is rendered incapable of pronouncing upon

its merit. In order to get at the spirit of a purer faith than that which ran into excesses at a later time, occasioning a necessary reform of religious sentiment, we must study the XIII. century types of Christian Art. Then it is we discover a true impulse fervently expressing itself in outward forms, a devout aspiration which lay at the root of all subsequent beauty, until it was supplanted by a mere worldly ambition and lust for power. In that truly Christian Art of an earlier time we discover a purer motive, a yearning for the heavenly, a mystical hope, a fervor of belief that partially drew aside the veil, revealing somewhat of that glory and light which had fired the human heart in former ages. But all this was changed when the inspiration and the life went out of it. The mystical element disappeared, the heavens "curled up as a scroll," as it were, grew more and more distant, until, finally, their objectivity vanished altogether and was no more *seen* even by the inward eye. So this beautiful Art perished with the inspiration that gave it form. It was an *other-world* aspiration—beautiful, mystical, and true. In the reaction that followed, the heavens were resolved into a philosophical abstraction—into a sphere or state that was without bodily externality of any kind, spiritual or otherwise. Morality eventually supplanted the religious hope, and this now manifests itself in the form of secular institutions for the amelioration of the outward condition of the natural man—things eminently praiseworthy, that may well stir the modern heart with pride; but morality is not religion, neither is that religion which discards the mystical, nor can that be a great Art which is not born of a religious impulse, nor a Christian Art that is not rooted in things spiritual. The natural man and his work, however glorious the achievement, is a distinct thing from the spiritual man and his hope, for which a new *birth* is declared to be the requisite—a new mind, a new purpose, a new life. The secret of that old fervor of faith which fired the human heart in the Apostolic Age, and again in the Middle Ages; which conquered the might and majesty of the pagan world, and again flamed forth with magnifi-

cent creative energy in the XIV. and XV. centuries, was, above all, a consciousness of the fact that the Kingdom of Heaven is *at hand*, as a near *reality*, actually *seen* in visions, and not a mere formula of speculative belief. Its denizens, in the form of celestial visitors, were believed—indeed they were known—to hold commerce or communion with man, being actively engaged in the advancement of God's Kingdom on earth. Thus the dreary commonplace of toil, pain, want, was transfigured under the glow of a celestial light, the rays of which descended visibly from above.

In the spirit of this conviction, the zeal, the sincerity, the faith of the mediæval impulse conceived those vast and beautiful structures, and wrought out their last delicate traceries, even in obscure corners, with one and the same ardent impulse of reverence and affection, to the honor and glory of God. The Giotto's, and, later on, the Fra Angelico's of the time, transfixed their inspired visions in mural paintings, breathing the ardent aspiration of a pure and heavenly faith, affirmative of all that is noblest and best in life. But the modern mind, while confessing the beautiful Art which thus mysteriously blossomed forth from these "abnormal, overstrained, expectant moods of mind," regards it, for the most part, as a mere efflorescence of fancy, not at all rooted in fact. We now look for the physiological causes of these vivid conceptions, of that other-world phenomena which gave birth to so much that was inspiring and beautiful in those distant ages of fervent faith. Whatever be their true character, it is safe to say that he who knows least about them—who, indeed, is incapable of understanding them—is assuredly he who measures them by a faithless standard, whose belief is not affirmative, but doubting, and who denies the truth of that of which he has not the means of judging correctly. Faith being stricken through with doubt, its outward manifestation became but a perversion of the truth, and, eventually, after a righteous reaction against this, those former vivid realisations of the unseen were displaced by cold, colorless abstractions, a form of belief that has no in-

spiration for Art, as it has none whatever for life itself. The mediæval impulse, rooted as it was, originally, in the nearness of the heavens, became historic, a thing of the past, like that of the Apostolic Age. S. Paul expressed the character of the faith of that age when he said: "It is high time to awake out of sleep; for now is our salvation nearer than when we believed." A belief in the unseen is quite another thing from its vivid realisation, from a consciousness of its nearness, its reality, and its objectivity. An abstract faith vaporises and renders unsubstantial the conceptions that formerly energised the character and the life. We look back upon the Apostolic Age as upon a glory illumining the distant horizon, but casting only a dim reflection over the present. This was not the case in the Middle Ages, when the light was also a direct effulgence from above. It was not the historic "Son of Man" alone, but the Risen LORD, the HOLY GHOST working in the present, which then occasioned a renewal of faith which flamed forth with somewhat of the old power and energy, but in a way adapted to the conditions of the time. A light that flickers forth from a distant past is quite another thing from a direct effulgence glorifying the present. No great Art ever sprang from a worship of the past, from a mere historic impulse; it has ever been the beautiful expression of a *living* faith, of an ardent, pulsating, breathing *present*, renewing the past in a living investiture of its own, and which looks eagerly forward and upward, and not backward. The Greeks found in the glory that shone about them the inspiration of their art; Nature was for them holy; her perfections were regarded as supremely sacred; they were revered and worshipped. The result of this was a cheerful, healthy, happy, open-aired sense of life and joy, to which the Art of Greece gave adequate expression. Compared with Mediæval Art, Greek Art was like a cloudless noonday when contrasted with the opulent splendors of the sunset, or the mystical glimmerings of twilight. Thus contrasted it appears colorless and cold, like the marble it worked in, though always pure, because sincerely de-

vout. And that other-world aspiration which gave birth to Mediæval Art was no less sincere. It was no mere fancy, no half-hearted belief; on the contrary, it was a clear conviction of the *reality* of that unseen world to which it ventured to give beautiful expression. But the natural world having now lost its sacred subjectivity, and the spiritual world its vivid objectivity, it may well be asked where is the visible basis for a distinctively religious Art of the future to rest upon; can it be rooted in any third principle distinct from either of those which gave birth to Greek and Mediæval Art? If the world of Nature be no longer deemed sacred, and the world of Spirit no longer regarded as objectively real, then, so far as outward investiture is concerned, the modern religious mind would seem to be suspended in space, as it were, having neither world to rest upon.

A faith that has become altogether abstract loses its fervor and its creative power; it is rendered incapable of bodying forth its formless ideals from sheer lack of substance. Consequently this modern phase of religious thought has given birth to no distinctively religious Art. In architecture it galvanises or partially resuscitates the forms of the past with an intellectual or external impulse that has nothing whatever of the old fervor of faith in it—and in other forms of Art the same thing has come to pass. In short, the fact cannot be concealed that our modern abstractions have pushed the heavens far off out of sight; they are no longer *at hand* as they were in the time of the Apostles, or in the later days of mediæval saints. The objective visions of the latter are now regarded as a form of brain disease, super-induced by unhealthy regimen, for which proper food and out-door exercise is the prescribed remedy.

It is not intended to bemoan this change that has come about in the modern religious mind, but to regard it calmly as it stands opposed to the Apostolic and mediæval phases of Christian belief; and to recognise and analyse it as a distinct form of religious thought, wholly unlike that which gave birth either to Greek or Mediæ-

val Art—neither deifying natural, nor realising spiritual things. The question then is: How does it manifest itself, that we may discern its true character? for we can know but little of the nature of thought except as we find it outwardly manifested. Distinctly, then, this modern phase of mind is neither pantheistic nor spiritual, but *moral*, outwardly manifesting itself in the form of *secular* institutions. It is distinctively humanitarian; it believes primarily in *man*, sympathises wholly with man, aims to ameliorate and elevate the outward condition of man. It has transferred all the resources of genius and invention to the comforts of the home; the temple no longer fills the first place. Its tendency is to secularise religion by emptying it almost wholly of its mystical element, reducing it to a strictly moral basis. These are its general tendencies or pervasive characteristics, though there are indeed exceptional phases of modern thought which manifestly contradict this view. The outcome of this modern activity of mind is, then, primarily, that the natural man is outwardly better provided for than ever before in the world's history. He has been made more comfortable—the maimed, diseased, the helpless, are mercifully provided for by “institutions;” and society, ideally, is regulated on the principle of outwardly benefiting the largest number of all sorts and conditions of men. The mind of the modern man having been thus exclusively directed to these things, the result is that the natural man is greatly benefited. But is he really happier? Has this outward improvement conferred a corresponding inward benefit? Is he *spiritually* improved by being thus made more at ease with respect to his outward environment? In many respects the indications are plain enough that he never was more widely separated from things spiritual; nor has any age given birth to more acute forms of doubt or denial of things sacred—forming the very foundations of religious belief. It is not an affirmative, but a critical age. Nothing is more foreign to its spirit than religious zeal, or a devout enthusiasm such as characterised the Apostolic or the Mediæval ages.

As far as *expression* goes, there is nothing that corresponds, at the present time, with the joyousness of Greek Art, nor with the triumphant ardor and lively faith of Mediæval Art. If there has been, until recently, a marked characteristic of the modern religious mind, it is that of a pensive melancholy traversed with misgivings, or clinging, with half-closed eyes, to some far-off impulse that has become historic, rather than frankly affirming its own faith. Greater stress has been laid on an historic than on a living faith, and the result is that its glory is wholly of the past. Can faith be efficacious that is not born of a *living* impulse? Can men of one age subsist upon the faith of another age? Can the modern man feel the full and true inspiration of that which is no longer personal to himself? These questions are not born of theological inquiry, they arise in the mind when root-ideas are apprehended through their external forms of expression, not as systems of thought, but as found incorporated with the *life* of the time. For what formulated system of thought could place before the mind so vividly the very pith and marrow of the Hebrew faith, as we find it expressed in the sacred drama of Job? or of the Greek mind and faith, as we find it in Homer? or of the Roman mind, as it is expressed in Virgil? When we come to the Christian faith we find its earliest burning attestation in the Epistles of Paul; and its non-sacred, yet fervent expression flaming brightly in the pages of Dante; its colder and more distant reflection in Milton; and, if I were to designate any single poem of recent date that embodied the leading characteristics of the mind of to-day, it would be the "In Memoriam" of Tennyson, which, nevertheless, is but a faint fore-gleam of an approaching dawn. In these various forms of expression are embodied, with more or less power and vividness, the characteristics of the faith of their respective epochs. They are most truly representative, for it is only where thought has been incorporated with the life that it is genuinely characteristic of any time or age. In these poems we find belief, not as an abstract system of thought, but as an energising principle coloring the whole life of the

time, and expressing itself in action. Apart from Revelation, therefore, there seems to have been at various times a culminating point reached by the natural mind, in successive ages, which finds expression in some crowning form of Art, gathering to itself all that is best and most characteristic, and running it into a mould that is imperishable because of its beauty. But there is noticeable a fundamental distinction in that which thus proceeds from the natural mind, clearly distinguishing it, even in form, from that which flows from a spiritual or heavenly source. For if we contrast the *Inferno* with the *Paradiso* of Dante, or the *Paradise Lost* with the *Paradise Regained* of Milton, it is clearly manifest that the power and penetration of thought, as well as the reality and beauty of the external form, is most marked in the former of these works in both instances. The sense of *reality* is more marked, and there is an instinctive vividness of conception with respect to the evil passions as expressed in action, that is in strong contrast with the paleness or conventionality of the imagery of the virtuous or good. The reverse of this is always the case in sacred Scripture: there the vivid imagery is most marked in that which is revealed to the spiritual sense; the thought is more intense and the form more beautiful when a pure and righteous aspiration is dwelt upon. Before these interior visions the objects of sense fade into less palpable forms, or sink wholly out of sight—it is, indeed, a realisation of the unseen with a glory of its own, before which the natural appears as but a shadow. In the one case the power lies in depicting the passions; in the other, in giving expression to righteous aspirations; in the former, evil finds its most vivid realisation; in the latter, righteousness is the inspiring objective, blazing forth from the sacred pages as from a sun. Now this is always a characteristic of an affirmative faith, viz., that it makes *real* the unseen universe; that it renders *objective* the spiritual truth. In the time of the Apostles the manifestations of the HOLY GHOST made it plainly apparent that the heavens were “at hand,” not as a mere matter of speculative belief, but as a vivid and precious reality, of which even little groups of believers in distant

places were themselves *witnesses*; and the mediæval impulse, with its intensity of faith, grew out of a like conviction, resting on similar grounds of belief. A similar faith is now again taking hold of men's minds. The effort to naturalise the spiritual by lowering it to the plane of the natural, in the place of spiritualising the natural by elevating it to the spiritual—a reversal of the old order of progress in religious thought—has resulted in lessening the reverence for things sacred without yielding any marked benefit to faith. It has *put out the eyes of the spirit* very effectually by reducing the spiritual world to an empty sphere of abstractions with which the common mind has little sympathy from its inability to think in that way. For, after having experienced a more excellent dispensation in times past, which gave body and form to abstract conceptions—giving even to the Highest-spiritual a gracious investiture—it is not in the way of progress to return again to that which is formless and void.

But a far truer tendency is now again making itself felt in the direction of realising the unseen, and this has ever been the characteristic of great ages of faith. There is a new impulse now everywhere manifest that is again working in this direction. A sound is heard in the valley of dry bones, the skeletons of faith are again being clothed with a living investiture. A new enthusiasm—calm and rational, yet *spiritual*—is awakening; a “new theology,” that is as old as Christianity—in short, a renewal of the religious life and aspiration, as distinguished from mere abstract beliefs. The heavens, which had receded beyond the stars, are again drawing near with a return of the *consciousness* of the immanence of Deity, involving the immanence of the heavens likewise—light is breaking, the dawn of a new day is at hand. What will be the outcome of this approaching era, blending in one affirmative impulse reason and faith, it is idle to predict, but it may be safely affirmed that it will be none the less momentous from its long-delayed birth-throes. It will then again be made manifest that an affirmative faith, realising the unseen, is at the root of all that is most moving in thought, as it is the inspiration of all that is most beautiful in Art. JOHN F. WEIR.

THE PROVINCE OF FICTION IN LITERATURE.

TO the class of elderly reading women the name of fiction means the lingering beside the late winter fire of life, and the recalling there of whatever was tenderest and most interesting in the experience of their lifetime. To a vastly larger class, of girls and young men, it means a *libretto*—a rendering into their own tongue, better or worse, of the bright and alluring play and song and dance of life ; a libretto illustrated, moreover, with etchings or line engravings on every page ; or it means views, by the best hands, of real scenes, and of things done and happening in different parts of the great world, in one part of which they themselves are seeing and doing. To a large class of professional men and others it means a rest and refreshment of the mind from hard and strained thought, from strife of the courts and public assemblies.

On the other hand, there are a great many serious (not always thoughtful) persons, many anxious, some careworn men and women, to whom it means a dangerous and destructive element among the agencies of the world which threaten the moral health, and of course the eternal welfare of the great throng of human beings who are not in earnest with their existence ; it means pictures of an unreal or vicious state of society, of ill-governed and ill-guided passion, of crime that has a poisonous temptation in it.

One thing it means to them all : it means all that are called novels, romances, plays, and tales ; it means everything, in narrative or dramatic form, which does not claim, or claims falsely, to be an account, truly given, of " fact "—of that which has really been in the world.

Our readers can easily see, with us, that, as between those several classes, feeling and opinion about this kind of literature must be widely different.

Of those elderly ladies, reading and musing by their waning fires, it may, perhaps, be safely said, that they would be almost content if every other book, "except the very good" together with the best of the stories, should happen to perish from the press. Most of the young of both sexes would assuredly go a good deal further, and would, with one voice, cry out for a greater Alexandrian fire for all other books, with the presses and printers besides, if so much as this were needed to make room for a full and never-failing flow of plays and novels. These, in their judgment, make the only literature that has life and interest for any readers but those who are represented by one or other of the inelegant, if expressive, names of "goody-goodies" or "old grannies."

As for that great and intelligent class of busy men, who read for rest and for the setting-up of strained or jaded minds, they would claim that, while they must have light reading, bad books are not what they want; they would have all these smothered before they could reach the light, and for the reason that they do vast mischief to unripe young minds and hearts full of tinder.

When we come for an opinion to our last class, of those who heartily feel themselves bound to hate and cry down "stories and stage-plays" of all kinds (unless such as are carefully revised and approved for Sunday-schools), the case with these was closed as soon as opened, and sentence was pronounced without a word of pleading. There is a gloomy feeling in many of them that, if a reckoning were had with all literature, of men now living and of men whose work outlives them, one sort with another, the amount of harm which it has done goes beyond all good that can be claimed for it immeasurably; and the great worker of mischief has been Fiction.

We are not curious to forecast how facts would stand on each side of that question, if they could be gathered and counted to the last of them, for no gain could come of set-

ting it in either way. It would not be more absurd to try to put out literature from the midday sky of the civilised world than it would be to seek to take out of literature fiction. As this made all the beauty of the dawn of civilisation, so, it is likely, will its many-hued glories be the last to fade slowly from the sky, if a night shall come to our civilisation before the New and Last Day of this heaven and earth. That harm has been done, and is now in doing, by means of books, and by means of unwritten ballads and legends, too, if the befouling of hearts and the making of them wicked be harm, would never be questioned by any one, young or old, who knows enough to judge; and in all this, let it be confessed freely, what is called fiction has done a great deal of mischief; and, alas! a great deal of the mischief has been deadly. We can easily go from little to great in counting up the charges that can be fairly laid against it: that through it (to begin among the least) has been fed a liking for folly and luxury and display and self-indulgent uselessness; that through it the best safeguards of honesty and chastity and truth have been sapped; that highwaymen even, and burglars, and most bloody murderers, have been trained and taught in books that have had crowds of readers; and the basest and most destructive crimes against family and kindred and friendship and honor have been made attractive and distinguishing.

What then? The tongues in most men lie; in many betray to sin and ruin; in many commit perjury and blasphemy; but, as we cannot think of getting rid of the tongues out of men's mouths, or of rearing a race of tongueless men, as there is a kind of bees without stings, we are sent off to seek some other remedy for mischief of the tongue; and, moreover, the tongue does incomparably more good than harm.

Most of us use words without knowing sharply what they mean, and many more without thinking what their meanings mean. Fiction is not falsehood, nor is it a teacher of crime. Few know, for want of thinking, how far into our daily speech the need of fiction goes, and

how limp and lifeless our language would fall if fiction were once all drawn out of it. Wings, too, would be stripped off in that process, and all would be robbed of color. We should then want a new language for all the common appearances and events of nature, earthly and beyond the earth. Not only the great sun, if brought strictly to his bearings, would no longer be credited in our speech for manifold activities, but he would not be allowed so simple things as his rising and setting, which were given to him as long ago as when speaking man waked out of his first sleep and hailed the dawning of day. The leaves might be said to fall, but no more should prose or poetry have leave to tell us of the "falling dew." The nursery would lose (and miss) its "twinkling" star. The play of the wind's breath in the ripening grain, and across the waves, and whirling the dust, and fanning the brow, we must not, if that were the sad condition of our mother-tongue, speak of any more.

Happily, the common speech will never give up what it has of poetry in it, and our poets, from Homer down, have used the simple words which all men could take to their hearts. Here are the wind's breath playing with the leaves and the tree yearning to the season of sunshine :

Φύλλα τὰ μὲν τ' ἄνεμος χαμάδις χέει· ἄλλα δὲ θύλη
Τηλεθώσα φύει· ἔαρος δ' ἐπιγίγνεται ὥρη.

So the great poets of the old time sang, so Dante sang, using known words ; so others sing, and the words of our lower speech exhaled and taken up into poetry, having been freshened and quickened there, fall again into the daily use and keep it living and fresh.

This is fiction, indeed, but fiction that is a shorter way by far, and a more effective way, of telling truth than the barest matter of fact could possibly be. Most people habitually carry common-sense with them, as a carpenter carries his two-foot rule, and will have no quarrel with the fiction which makes all talking easier and really truer. Exactness, as some take it, would very often give a very inexact impression in what is told

or written. If we call the woods green, we are saying truth of them, although, in fact, the trees look, even to the hasty eye, if it peers under, brown, gray, and black tenfold, in downright weight, as compared with green; and, if we but go inside the bark, show a hundred to one, it may be, of yellow and white, as compared with green. Now, what would be the truer account of the woods by the roadside or the river's bank? If we had called the trees black, or gray, or brown, in one of our happy summers, we should have done them wrong. To every ear that heard we should have belied them, for all eyes saw them green. If the child shows us that "the sky is blue as blue can be," we will not gainsay it, nor let it be gainsaid by our wise friend who knows that the sky is not blue; and, moreover, that there is no sky at all, if we want the exact literal fact.

We do not want such exactness or such fact in such a case, for they are not the truth. There are times in which we really need to take strong words to tell our truth in. Then, to say "it made my heart leap," as, in other tongues, "*mi balza il cor*," and the like; "it curdled the blood in my veins;" "my heart was in my mouth;" "it fairly made my flesh creep;" "my very hair stood on end;" "the blood all ran back to my heart;" "his soul went out at his eyes;" "his hand was itching to take it;" to say any of these, or countless other phrases like them, at one of such times, is to say the truth as it would not be said by any tamer rhetoric held back by anatomy, and physiology, and some other sciences, and by common sense itself. If we must have it so, there is no rennet that can thicken the red stream of life; no heart, however large we call it, can hold at once all the blood from veins and arteries; and all these other sayings can be shown to be against science or common-sense.

A silly accuracy would not only lay its hard hand over the mother's mouth singing her glad carol, and talking her happy nonsense, but clap its gag upon the tongue of the prattler uttering the most winsome speech that man ever learns on earth.

This world would lose in beauty wonderfully if the Great Maker were to take out all fiction from His work. This broad blue, filling all places in the sky ; the rainbow, which makes beautiful the heaven's stormy darkness ; the hazy grace of hills and woods far away, these must thereafter be for us no more. Not only should the giant spectre never stalk again athwart the Brocken mists ; nor the mirage throw up into the air the perfect likenesses of towns or ships, seascape or landscape ; but the laughter and shouts of happy childhood should nevermore come back from the barn's side, or the cliff, or the hollow height ; no longer the windows of cottage or workshop should show themselves untempting, but dazzling as burnished gold, against the evening sun ; the clouds should never again put on the shape and look of mountain or valley, of angel or monster, of hounds and huntsmen, of fighting or fleeing hosts ; the west should nevermore heave up its heaps of priceless beauty ; the frost on the pane should no more put to shame the rarest tracery of art, Corinthian, Hindoo, or Moorish ; no longer should the flowers set patterns for our looms and easels ; and lake and river never should again show in their clear depths the bank and tree and wall and starry sky as true and bright as those which stand beside or hang above them. If all fiction were taken out of God's works, the sun should never again cast shadow of tree or rock, or throw our outline from us ; much less should he draw our features on the metal, and fix there the fleeting tenderness of love and the very limpidness and light of the deep eye. From that sad moment in which our fair world should be so dis-graced, no being and no thing shall ever wear a likeness to any of another kind, or wear another look beside its own. Beauty and grace, till that time always freely borrowed from light and shade and surroundings, must be forever from that time forbidden. This would not leave anywhere even a chance elegance, given by size or shape or outline.

These are a few instances : fiction gives interest and beauty to the works of God all over the world that we are living in.

If literal exactness might take out of the Bible whatever it could prove to be true fiction, it would make frightful havoc. We open at a venture, and find the One Hundred and Seventh Psalm; we take it in our Prayer Book version, because this has kept more of the living brightness and grace and melody of poetry than that which is called the Authorised. Now, on the score of not keeping close to fact, a man might stand and contradict its words almost as fast as they fell. Even the "Authorised Version," which has rubbed and brushed off so much of glossiness and color, here would not escape a large share of the censure of this hard critic.

The strong and beautiful words: *He satisfieth the empty soul, and filleth the hungry soul with goodness. Such as sit in darkness and the shadow of death, being fast bound in misery and iron*, will never pass. Nor these: *He also brought down their heart through heaviness; they fell down, and there was none to help them. He brought them out of darkness, and the shadow of death, and broke their bonds in sunder*. Nearly every one of these words must be challenged, to satisfy exactness of one sort. Whether the soul is or is not at any time empty is beyond our ken; but surely no goodness of any literal sort, within or without the man, will satisfy the literal emptiness or fill up hunger. No races are exactly, in point of fact, sitting in darkness; nor is death anybody or anything, so far as we can think, that can have a shadow; and, moreover, if one has a shadow, let us ask what would be his way to cast it.

The words *misery and iron*, better than Bismarck's famous "blood and iron," make a description wondrous short, but frightfully intense and strong, and suggesting, too, a length and bitterness inexpressible. Now, misery and iron cannot be fluxed, or amalgamated, or welded together, to make fast bonds for men, if words only made up of letters are to be held to; but if the life of bondage and moaning wretchedness is to be cut into and shown out to us, without holding the raw too long to the cold air, how else can it be done so thoroughly and shortly as here?

He hath broken the gates of brass, and smitten the bars of iron in sunder: how true, to millions of hearts set free! but will any man, in Germany or elsewhere, show us any of those brazen gates, or a scrap of the bars, perhaps some one may bring out a coin of Sanconian, or a brick of the mighty hunter, Nimrod? *They are even hard at death's door*: what sort of house has death to keep? and must not the gates and doors be *οὐρανοὶ πύλαι* and *πύλαι ἀόρατοι*—unseen gates of heaven? Unseen? The revising men of 1611, in the verses which so admirably describe the shipman's perils, have kept very near the Prayer Book, and so have kept much of the life and freshness and strength; but if all who put on a speech to be "understood of the people" what is written or spoken in a strange tongue are, in the meaning of this, to keep themselves close to the letter and not to the soul of words, then all here are open to censure alike. Ships and men are not *carried up to heaven and down again to the deep or depths*; *their soul doth not melt away because of the trouble*. *They are at their journey's end*. Are they? How? If we say "make an end of" a peewit, or a partridge, it is a figure of speech; but there is no *end* to a wit of any kind. Yet if criticism like hereabouts, it is to be feared that it will hit the almost a dozen times where it would once touch our honest Churchmen putting his words into their dear English.

But we are tired, and so, still more, our readers are tired, of this. The whole Bible could be gone through in this way, and wronged as easily. No man can *bow down his soul like a bulrush*, or like anything else that grows; no man's heart can *burn within him*; no man can be *lifted up* by prosperity, or *cast down* by adversity; *the Lord setteth not up one, and putteth not down another*, as those words are used in a cupboard or dairy; but those words are such as housemaid or dairymaid might herself use, if her heart were, as we say, full, and she were lifted above her common self; and they are such as she would best understand and feel most from experience in such a case. A man could never *draw nigh*

to GOD, if he took counsel of the letter and not of the spirit ; but happily, if *the letter* (handled after that foolish fashion) *killeth, the spirit* (supplied as the LORD supplies) most surely *giveth life*.

Above we have scarce touched the Bible ; if all in it that is not matter-of-fact truth—all, in short, that is fiction—were cut out, all that would be left of it afterward would be a sadly shrunken book, whose reading would be tiresome beyond all power of reverence or duty for those who know it as it is. The book, as we have it now, is worthy of being called Holy Writ.

The drawing of the human mind toward harmless fiction is so strong, and begins so early, not less with peoples than with single persons, that we may well think it to have been implanted in us. How high up, in the climate of civilisation, man must go before coming to the region most favorable for fancy and imagination, we are not ready to say ; but almost everywhere, and almost even where we see man at the lowest, we find these or traces of them, and they show themselves in figurative language or in some form of larger fiction. So it is said of savages and half-educated men that their best talking is in figures.

The language of our former wild men was not an invention of the author of the Leather-stocking Tales ; nor did any man invent and supply ready-made the fanciful speech that brightens our nurseries and the twilight in our winter parlors, not a word of which came out of the young mind without having been pushed all the way through with the whole might of a little, true, fast-beating heart behind it. If there be, from the outset of life, a sacred love of truth, and a sacred fear and hate of lying, then surely imagination, one of the best gifts that man has, may be safely allowed to do its own work for any one who has it. The man may make as many romances and plays and epic poems and ballads as ever were written by all other men, and nothing but good shall ever come of his making to himself or any other.

The craving for stories, which in our rather heavy forefathers was so strong that it would follow through

ing and tiresome—dreary and tiresome—romances, for the licking, a very thin sweetness of the poor invention of their day, and sometimes would follow a bare scent of was but a stretching out of the liking for war-stories and fairy-stories and love-stories and witch-and-wizard-stories heard of men-at-arms and nurses and grooms. Their tiresome old romances, of which, as one would think, beginning and middle would be forgotten long before coming to the end (as we find, indeed, that sometimes the maker himself forgot), were the best that they knew enough to call for at the hands of such as could make them. As the taste and knowledge of those who read and heard grew better, the faculty of the writers grew in proportion, and the gain on both sides was fast. So it has been, too, among all races everywhere that live in the same way advanced. The taste and the faculty are in all races, and in each grow better as the race grows more refined and thoughtful.

To this our LORD JESUS addresses himself in the parables—stories which were understood by the hearers, just as we understand them in reading, to be not recitals of facts, though absolutely true accounts of man under various conditions of life and in varying circumstances. Now, taking our LORD'S parables as He means them, observing that they are stories and are fiction, and that this fiction is not merely harmless and not merely instructive, but bears in it a living interest for men, because men take to stories kindly—Æsop's, and Phædrus's, and Menenius's—and in stories take in truth and wisdom as they would not without them, how simple it is, and how natural, to ask why fiction on a larger scale, if not only it be harmless, but if it bear that in it which shall draw men to be happier and better, ought not to be written and read, and written and read forever? And why not written by those who can write best? and why not read by the best people for the best ends?

For fiction to be good, and to do endless good, it is not needed that it shall, all the while or at any time, profess to have been written to teach morals or religion;

it is needed that it shall be true to life, and written by a man of honest conscience and a sure eye for what is great and true and lovely. The bad man makes fiction bad only as the bad man mixes the poison, or as he spreads the scandal or the lie, or as he betrays trust of woman or man. To show us heroic manhood; to show us womanhood chaste and true and strong, for God's sake, in its gentleness; to show us the pretty happiness and loving innocence of childhood; to show us poverty not base, and weakness brave; to show us strength given in the trials in which men most need strength; to show us the calm choosing of death instead of life, where death came of duty or honor; to show us faith stronger than death, or life, or shame, or want, or comfort, or success; to show us lives, and deeds, and loves, such that we feel, with all our feeling, that human nature in them is what God made human nature for, and what ours must and shall be with the help of God—this is high work indeed. This is the work of the best fiction.

If readers will choose such reading, the world of men will be the better.

Now, if any small school of sensible men and earnest women could at any time have caught the world asleep, and could have put a bar that would stay upon every class of books which were not, or which were not at the least intended to be, teachers of pure mathematics, or of metaphysics, or morals, or natural science, or grammar, or book-keeping, or to be records of history and fact, would they have done well? Most certainly not; a class does not make sure of all its members, in books any more than among men of good blood. The case is simple: good fiction is good; bad fiction is bad.

Falsehood may lurk in a Greek accidence or Latin syntax and prosody; even in the very books which are, if any are, types of matters of fact—check-books and account-books. Records of meetings, parish registers, reports of investigating committees, public professions, confessions in public, catalogues of institutions (even of learning and morals), sworn testimony, marking lists in girls' schools and boys' schools—some of all these have

- lied deliberately, although every single one of them is, by its very nature, specially pledged to the truth. The bad man or the man of dull conscience can allow himself to cover thoroughly the truth or tell a falsehood, under any heading, and can put his name to it in his best handwriting. The bad heart makes a lying or defiling book out of so dry materials as statistics, which are thought to be as far from fiction as East from West.

But many people, who never heard that pretty character of history, that it "is philosophy teaching by example," have thought for themselves that history has much the same living human interest as stories or plays which are not records of fact, and has much the same power of drawing men to truth and goodness, by moving likenesses of those who have been true and good, in our common human nature, and in the same way has the power of making vice and baseness hateful; and that the business of history is to teach, while that of fiction is to entertain and to give pleasure.

Undoubtedly good history is interesting and improving and ennobling, but there is no occasion for putting fiction down to set up history. This certainly cannot teach the better; it very often is less true. Some of our historians best known, if they would deal fairly by their readers, ought to give warning at the outset to walk, as on eggs, over much of their material, which has been laid down, with the utmost care, to save it from breaking through at the first footfall. History can be made to hide the truth and tell the untruth as thoroughly and easily as any written or spoken thing; sometimes it is written for the very purpose. History, moreover, can debauch the heart and debase the conscience, all the more because of its accepted character of being an honest teacher; but it can be untrusty and faithless, as is sometimes a music-teacher or a writing-master.

Where history and fiction have worked on the same subject, with the same materials, the latter's work has been more true to the life than the other's often. Shakespeare may not have made Henry VIII. to seem nearly the worse than coarse, strong-headed, brutal despot

that he was, but he has come vastly nearer to the truth in his one play, and that in spite not only of the danger of forfeiting his license, but of the danger of the dreadful penalties of *præmunire*, than Froude, who, with no fear of anything before him, has taken a dozen volumes to make the furious, lawless lecher into the best hero that he could. And though Scott was enough of a loyal Briton to have in his blood the feeling that lords, alive or dead, are larger than beings of this earth, and kings (scarcely more Scottish kings than others) are indefinitely larger than lords, he has drawn for us that very wise fool, King Jamie, more to the foolish life than the great historian Hume.

We could easily find other instances, a good many to the like purpose, but we will come to a comparison, in truthfulness of another sort, which is worth more yet.

Both history and fiction teach by example mostly. Neither the one nor the other could thrust the moral too strongly into the story (*neu nimis fortiter*) "*officium virile*" (*chori*) "*defendat*;" the moralising of the old Grecian chorus must be left to the old Grecian masters. Both history and fiction must make manhood and truth and honor attractive or conquering, and both must make meanness and greed and grasping selfishness and lust that breaks all laws hateful by the skillful and strong drawing of the persons of their story, the right handling of the action, and the countless little touches which, though each leaves no special mark, all together do very much indeed for the abiding effect. Now, it would be hard to find in history (perhaps not so hard to find in real life) anything like an equal show of characters that have made us feel, once for all, how we can do more than we are doing to fill honestly our place, and can follow a conscience better taught and trained to loftier truthfulness—a conscience more quick with GOD's living might than ours has been. History, most often, cannot give space enough to those characters or to those deeds that best point a moral. Livy has done admirably in his compact drawing of the tragedy of the good King Servius; the ragings of the brutal thing, the elder

daughter, who by murder of husband and sister gets to herself her husband's brother, her sister's husband; goads him to her father's murder for his throne, and then drives horses and chariot across the dead body on her way home; the equal fierceness and brutality of her mate in wickedness, the proud Tarquin; the gentleness and fearlessness of the aged King—a page or two of a great writer makes all pitiful, hateful, horrible; but in Shakespeare's *Lear* and his children, what woe, what dignity, what tenderness, what faithfulness forever teaching, never to be unheeded or forgotten!

Look at poor, discrowned *Œdipous*, in *Sophocles*, expiating to fate the guilt that he had never knowingly committed; to the last better than a king; *Antigone*, undying model of all that is womanly, a daughter and sister and lover, everywhere true, fearless, self-forgetting; Shakespeare's *Desdemona*, the chaste, trusting, unchanging, tender wife; the utter villain *Iago*; Scott's *Flora McIvor*, the gentle, lofty, consecrated maiden, and *Jeanie Deans*, a heroine, if ever heroine was, and men and women—such a wealth of example and warning as we cannot bring in here—fiction can show to back its claim as teacher.

It is unmatched; can it be ever matched by the best history?

ROBERT LOWELL.

DOGMA NO ANTIDOTE FOR DOUBT.

Catholic Dogma. By the Rev. THOMAS S. CARTWRIGHT. THE CHURCH REVIEW, No. CLVIII., July, 1885.

Dogma No Antidote for Doubt. By A MEMBER OF THE NEW YORK BAR. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1885.

Catholic Dogma the Antidote of Doubt. By the Rt. Rev. W. E. McLAREN, S.T.D. New York: James Pott & Co. 1883.

IF a prize had been offered for any nine lines or less of plain English which should contain the largest amount of deftly concealed irony, and the smallest ingredient of serious truth, we think there can be little doubt that the author of the opening sentences of the article first above named would have been entitled to its award.

Easy as would be the task of making that fact glaringly apparent, we purposely forbear; because, while nothing could induce us to be really disrespectful to the Bishop of Chicago, and we should be sorry to be thought so, even without reason, still, any specific attempt to illustrate it would be likely to incur more or less of risk in that direction.

We shall content ourselves therefore, in the meanwhile, with referring any reader who may desire to be convinced of the substantial truth of our proposition to the Bishop's book, for the fullest evidence thereof; or, better still, to the volume largely devoted to its review, by "A Member of the New York Bar," where the task may be found done ready to hand.

Our present purpose, fortunately, lies within narrower

limits, and is, mainly, to show the injustice and groundlessness of the general charges contained in the article above designated, whilst, haply, bringing for a moment into clearer light some of the principles of sound Churchmanship involved in the discussion; which will also, at the same time, serve to demonstrate the completeness with which its author has failed to accomplish his apparent object.

Ostensibly he undertook to vindicate the Bishop, and to confound his critic; whereas, instead, he has constructed his argument so as to establish the correctness and "orthodoxy" of the views of the "Member of the New York Bar," which, he expressly admits, are in perfect conformity with the doctrines of the Church, as well as with his own belief. On the other hand, he has not even attempted to justify the Bishop's "astounding theory," or to approve, or even to palliate, any of his unchurchly views; preferring rather to ignore them, and to set up, in the Bishop's vindication, only a general denial, without even a pretence of bringing up facts for their support.

Before entering upon a more formal consideration of the article before us, we desire first, to make one or two brief general remarks upon it, and then to call attention to several extraordinary detached statements which ought not to go unnoticed. Their chief significance, however, may be to show such a careless and loose habit of thought in their writer that thereafter no one ought to be surprised at the labored, confused, and utterly illogical character of the entire essay.

Unhappily, indeed, there are certain minds, sufficiently intelligent in general, and even learned, so far as the acquisition of mere facts go, that do not hesitate to sit in judgment upon and condemn as illogical any argument, however sound and faultless, which leads to unwelcome conclusions; but who seem, at least so far as some of their performances indicate, never to have apprehended what logic really means. They will heap line upon line, and sentence upon sentence, and then announce a conclusion which can find no possible support in the pre-

mises laid down. Judged by the article now before us, it is to this class that its author must be assigned. Without adducing any proof thereof, or even so much as referring to any evidence, he has not hesitated to declare, and that, too, with the air of a metaphysical dictator who is not to be questioned, that the work of Bishop McLaren's critic "is singularly weak and defective," not only in its theology, but in its logic.

As to his opinion of its theology, we should claim no right to assail that, since theology, as commonly understood, is to a great extent matter of opinion only. But with logic the case is different. Logic stands upon its own independent and objective merits. Its claims are not to be assailed until the means and methods by which they have been reached can be shown, within the scope of common reason, to be defective; and that, too, quite independently of all personal notions and opinions. The conclusions of logic, as such, can never be refuted or set aside by the assertion of any mere opinion.

The mere opinion, therefore, of his reviewer will never prove the logic of the "Member of the New York Bar" to be weak, especially as that has already withstood the scrutiny of a rigorous and exacting public press; and still more especially since, after a careful and critical examination by some of the ablest and most impartial scholars of the age, as well abroad as at home, they have pronounced it to be, in a logical point of view, sound and unanswerable. As yet no attempt, so far as we know, has been made to answer it which has had even the semblance of a logical argument. This we shall endeavor to make particularly apparent as to the article now under consideration.

It is characterised throughout by sweeping and general assertions, which can have no place in the realms of pure criticism; unless, indeed, they be such as are admitted by general consent, or are sustained by evidence duly set forth, or at least clearly referred to, and showing that they are justly applicable to the subjects under review.

Thus it charges that the work of the "Member of the New York Bar" abounds in gratuitous assumptions;

whereas, in truth, it proceeds upon no special assumption whatever, unless it be this : that Bishop McLaren shall be held to mean what he says.

Again, the charge is made that "it imputes to the Bishop a purpose for which he is not responsible." But without knowing just what is meant by this, since it is not stated, the complete answer to it is, that *no* purpose is imputed to the Bishop which is not indicated by his own teachings, and his own declarations ; not by words put into his mouth, but by those only which he has chosen to utter, and which have no uncertain interpretation.

The same is true as to what is said of drawing "inferences which are not warranted by facts." For at least the facts are given, and fully stated, so that the fairness of the inferences drawn from them may be adjudged by every reader for himself.

Instead, too, of confounding "words and things which essentially differ," as is further charged, the Bishop's reviewer, on the contrary, carefully discriminates and points out the true difference between words and things which the Bishop himself confuses. As, for instance, between honest doubt on the one hand, and that lying perversity on the other, impressible by no moral argument, and which, while believing, denies that it believes. [See *Dogma No Antidote for Doubt*, Chapters II. and III.]

And finally it is charged that—were the principle of the writer carried out to its logical results, it would break down the barriers CHRIST has erected for the preservation of the Church, and would open up a way for the widest latitudinarianism in doctrine, and for endless confusion and strife in government and worship.

Now, as we shall presently see, the principle which our reverend reviewer declares, and with perfect accuracy, to be the "fundamental principle" of the author of *Dogma No Antidote for Doubt*, is, "that the Bible is the Word of GOD, Divine and authoritative ; that in it we find the Rule of Faith, and that from it we derive the doctrines and duties which are necessary to salvation." Now, will our reverend reviewer seriously insist that to carry out this principle to its logical results is to break down the barriers which CHRIST has erected for the pres-

ervation of His Church, and to flood the world with all the evils he has depicted? We think not. To do so would be to repudiate the great Reformation, and to denounce and deny the broadest and firmest principle of his own Church. A few lines farther on he intimates that the "Member of the New York Bar" is guilty of "sophistry and evasion." It is indeed only an insinuation, for no instance of either fault has been pointed out. And as to "evasion," we think it may be said that, if the whole vocabulary of things and thoughts had been ransacked to find the word least applicable to the book in question, "evasion" should have been the word selected. If ever a book went squarely and directly up to the points of attack, we claim that this one may well be allowed to be of that character.

As well might the spear of Diomed be charged with "evading" the face of Pandarus, when at its stroke,

He headlong fell . . .
. . . and where he fell, he died.

Its writer then sets out by declaring that one of the fundamental principles of the Church (which, it is added—really it would seem as if to provoke a derisive smile—"Bishop McLaren is not one whit too soon in reasserting!") is that "*It should be accepted, WITHOUT PROOF, that there is in the Church a clearly defined basis of belief, an authoritative standard and guide; for faith is of the essence of salvation, and a prime condition of spiritual communion.*"

But on that principle the Koran, or the Book of Mormon, would be quite as obligatory on our consciences, if not as valuable, as the Christian Bible.

Here, too, we come to another typical indication that the reviewer belongs to that class of mind which seems to have no conception of what logic means. For in the very next breath, after having required us to accept it "*without proof,*" he proceeds to inquire:

What is the objective principle of faith? and what again is the logical or historical ground on which faith rests, or the evidence by which it is sustained?

If we ought to accept it *without proof*, what need or right have we to demand logical, historical, or any other "evidence" wherewith to sustain it?

Or if, as he next tells us, that "In its essential principles and facts truth is conformable to reason, and is comprehensible by reason," why should we be required to accept any alleged truth as the "basis of belief, an authoritative standard and guide" in the Church, "*without proof?*" These and similar questions force themselves upon our attention at the very introduction of his argument, and at once tend to characterise it as confused and inconsistent.

Just here we have also a sample of misleading and untenable assertion. He says the Bishop "has *shown*" that "truth exists in some distinct and embodied (sic) form." But to this averment we must enter a respectful though emphatic denial, for Bishop McLaren "has *shown*" nothing of the kind.

The utmost that he has done in this direction is to assert and argue that, so far as the Church and the human race are concerned, truth exists only "in the consciousness of the whole congregation of the faithful," in "the mind of the Catholic Church as a unit;" [see *Catholic Dogma*, Chap. XIV.] and that its "distinct and embodied form" is to be found only in the expression of that consciousness; and further, that such expression is compactly and intelligently enshrined in the Catholic Creeds [Ibid., p. 119]; and that *they* contain "all that a Christian man ought to know and believe" [p. 49]; while we are also assured that no individual can perceive the truth with sufficient distinctness [p. 85].

Furthermore, we are asked to believe, in spite of the convictions of every intelligent person to the contrary, that all this constitutes veritable Catholic Dogma, and is universally accepted as true; and that such universal acceptance, thus affirmed, is the only, but yet an all-sufficient, reason why every doubter should adopt such belief and make it his own.

We are left, however, entirely to conjecture, and that, too, in very dangerous and momentous uncertainty, as to

what these Catholic Creeds, thus prescribed, in truth are; and as to whether, for instance, we are to include among them the Creed of Pius IV., which is regarded by far the larger portion of the Christian world as pre-eminently *the* Catholic Creed, though repudiated by all the reformed Churches in Christendom.

There need be no hesitation in admitting, with the Bishop and his reviewer—indeed, we think no one can admit more manifestly than does the “Member of the New York Bar” throughout his book—that “It may not have been competent for reason, unaided by spiritual illumination, to discover the truth in all its recondite forms.” But when it *is* presented, by whatever means or by whatever aid, it must, before it can be ranked and classified as truth, bring with it, in some form or other, its more or less sufficient demonstration or proof.

We proceed now to notice, in the briefest manner, two or three scattered statements in the article in the review, which we have already characterised as so extraordinary that they ought to be separately noticed, although forming no part of the general argument.

Having established [REVIEW, p. 231] and recognised it as “a fundamental article of belief, that the Bible is the inspired Word of GOD Himself;” that “in it we find the Rule of Faith;” that “it is the Bible, therefore, which we must receive, believe, obey,” he proceeds to announce that, in the course of his argument, “It is necessary to raise other questions *affecting the character and the credibility of this book.*” What! we say, raise questions affecting the character and credibility of the inspired Word of GOD Himself? And after we have ascertained and recognised it to be such? In such an argument we prefer to take no part. It has too much the air of impiety and sacrilege. Having received and recognised the Bible as the Divine and authoritative Word of GOD Himself, we shall endeavor to treat it with all due reverence and be thankful.

Again he declares, with no little obscurity of meaning, that “the truth”—that is, the Bible in all its fulness and completeness—“contains the essence of *Catholic*

Dogma, the Faith once delivered to the saints; . . . the Faith handed down to us, unimpaired in integrity and power, through the one Divinely constituted channel (the Church), whose identity has never been destroyed, whose Creeds have been preserved intact, and (mark the addition) *some of whose traditions are coeval with the Word itself.*" Now, what can a clergyman of the Church mean by such a statement as that? The Scriptures themselves distinctly tell us that "*In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with GOD, and the Word was GOD.*" And yet he dares to affirm that the Church has traditions which are coeval with the eternal Creator Himself! Again we ask, what can it mean, and what can be its purpose?

The difficulty would scarcely be helped by a suggestion that the term "Word" is there used to signify only the Scriptures, the written Bible; for upon that supposition the statement would be no less frivolous than it would be to record that there are traditions concerning Napoleon Bonaparte which were current before the many histories of his marvellous career were written. Or, to say that some of the traditions relating to the infancy of Dr. Johnson were "coeval with," if they did not antedate, the writing of his life by Boswell.

We come now to the last one of those statements which we have denominated as extraordinary with which we will detain the reader's attention. At p. 237, CHURCH REVIEW, for some reason or other which does not appear, he goes back to the reconsideration of a question which he had previously raised and answered, as to the means by which we have satisfied ourselves of the truth of the Bible. He says: "It is not an innate knowledge. The 'spiritual intuition' does not answer. There is no such thing as a special inspiration. The Divine Afflatus, breathed upon Prophets and Apostles to enable them to recall the past and to penetrate the future, is withheld from us. It is neither needful, *nor possible, to work a second miracle.*" Why not possible? Hath then GOD ceased to exist? Have His power and His majesty departed, and is not His throne established forever? If

it were his purpose to work a "second miracle," or a third, or a countless series of miracles, is He not able to carry out His will? But we forbear to notice any farther such wild and reckless statements; they serve only to excite surprise and suspicion.

We now proceed to a more general consideration of the reviewer's argument, if such it can properly be called.

The principal thought which has forced itself upon our attention whilst reading it is that its writer must have intended it, originally, as an unqualified commendation of the layman's book, a vindication of its claims to be a just and loyal defence of the principles of the Church, and a faithful exposure of certain false and contrary doctrines advocated by Bishop McLaren.

Apparently it has been made to assume a different rôle from that first intended, by force of some after-thought growing out of a conviction similar to that of the good Captain Cuttle—that "the discipline of the household must be maintained." In other words, that the dignity and apparent orthodoxy of the Episcopal character must be maintained; at least in form, so long as that sometimes difficult task may be possible.

The reviewer shows, with much clearness and consideration, that, as to all of the principal points involved and discussed, the book is in perfect harmony, as well with his own views as with those of the Church. He explicitly admits most of them, but adds, as if by way of rebuke, that it is not needful to waste time in proving them. If, however, the truths which they concern be indeed important, and the position of the Church which maintains and teaches them be misrepresented, and especially if other and false and dangerous doctrines are attempted to be substituted in their place, it certainly cannot be a waste of time to endeavor clearly to distinguish the one from the other; to set forth the Church's true position in a clearer light than before, if possible, and to point out the dangers and delusions to which unsuspecting and confiding seekers after truth may be exposed.

It is precisely this, as it seems to us, and nothing more, that the author of *Dogma No Antidote for Doubt* has sought to do. Influenced, apparently, by a feeling similar to that which would impel a dutiful son to vindicate from aspersion and wrong the fair fame of a beloved mother, with like zeal and devotion to the Church, he has stood forth in her defence.

Recognising the powerful influence which is likely to accompany the formal teachings of the incumbent of a great metropolitan Diocese like that of Chicago, he has analysed to its last results the ecclesiastical theory of Bishop McLaren, as found in his volume entitled *Catholic Dogma the Antidote of Doubt*.

But, so far from his review being in any sense a "piece of special pleading" (though a "very clever" one, as is graciously admitted), it is quite the opposite. It is, rather, a complaint, a charge, a solemn accusation, grounded upon and proven by the very words and declarations of the Bishop himself, as he has deliberately published them to the world. The mere statement of the charge in this way becomes its own sufficient proof, as well as the instant condemnation of the Bishop's theory, when judged by any authoritative standard of Church doctrine.

His reviewer declares the "fundamental position" of the author of *Dogma No Antidote for Doubt* to be this:

The idea of the infallibility of Holy Scripture. It is in the Bible that we are to find the Rule of Faith; it is from the Bible that we are to derive the doctrines and duties which are necessary to salvation; it is to the Bible that the Church points as to the free and open fountain of Divine truth, and the genuineness of which she guarantees by her seal and pledge; it is the Bible, therefore, we must receive, believe, obey, as the inspired word of God Himself. This, says the reviewer, is the belief of Bishop McLaren's critic. And immediately he adds the very satisfactory assurance: This is our own belief, and that of the Church of England, and of the Church in the United States, as attested by their Articles and formularies and Creeds.

Such is the accusation brought against the author of *Dogma No Antidote for Doubt*.

Wherefore it appears that "the very head and front of his offending hath this extent—no more:" that his views are in perfect harmony with those of the Church, as attested by her Liturgy, her formularies, her Articles, and the Creeds; as well as with those of the reviewer himself.

Certainly this is, so far, a very gratifying state of affairs, and most creditable to the "Member of the New York Bar."

Here, however, it is to be especially noted that our reviewer does not presume, in the same unqualified manner, to affirm that this is also the belief of Bishop McLaren. Of him it is ventured to say, with much discretion, only, that it is *his* belief, "*in its proper theological sense*"—whatever that significant phrase may finally be held to mean. As to that, we shall see hereafter.

Proceeding farther to illustrate the perfect harmony which exists between the views of Bishop McLaren's critic, his own views, and those of the Church, he asks and considers another question, viz.:

What *is* the Bible, which our friend, the layman-author, declares to be the inspired Word of GOD Himself; the free and open fountain of Divine Faith? (and, satisfactorily for all, answers that the Bible is the history of GOD, in His threefold nature as the Creator, the providential Controller, and the Incarnate Saviour, in all His relations to mankind). Such a history, he says, had never before, and has never been written since. None but GOD Himself could write it. It bears the imprint of His finger, the sign and stamp and seal of heaven. And this, he adds, is the Catholic Dogma—this the faith which was once delivered to the Saints—this the Holy Scripture that containeth all things necessary to salvation.

Now, if we except the somewhat objectionable use of the term "Dogma" as descriptive of the Bible, all that we have just been considering may be regarded, so far as it goes, as a fair restatement or summary of the position maintained by Bishop McLaren's legal reviewer: *that the Bible is the sole Rule of Faith of the Church, and for all Christians, and that it contains all things necessary to salvation.*

And we maintain that his book is a continuous testimony to that fact. This position, it will be remembered, moreover, our clerical friend himself asserts, in the strongest terms, to be the principle of the Church also; as to the truth of which, of course, there can be no doubt.

Now, it is to be remarked that up to this time not a word has been adduced from Bishop McLaren's book, nor any statement whatever made of his views. And yet the question is asked, with surprising abruptness, at this point, "Is not this the doctrine taught, the principle illustrated, the hope cherished by Bishop McLaren in his *Catholic Dogma the Antidote of Doubt*? As if it were not manifest to the questioner, as it must be to every appreciative reader of that book, that not only the real but also the professed purpose of the Bishop must be held to be to establish the contrary.

It is the business of a reviewer, especially when he assumes to decide, or at least to assist in deciding, between conflicting opinions, to present both sides fairly, so as to enable his readers to determine for themselves as to the respective merits of each. Having done this, it is, of course, his privilege, and generally his duty, to illustrate, by such arguments as he may, the soundness of the one and the falsity of the other, according as his sense of the truth and the right may dictate.

It is precisely this, as it seems to us, that the author of *Dogma No Antidote for Doubt* has done; and its average reader will be likely to get a clearer and more accurate idea of the theory and positions of Bishop McLaren than by anything short of, at least, a very careful perusal of the Bishop's own book.

But, as we have said, the reverend writer of the July article has given to his readers no information whatever as to the Bishop's views; and those who have not read either of the volumes in question of course have nothing before them on which to form an opinion. Having ourselves read both, we are prepared to answer the question, and to do so at once, by giving to it the most emphatic denial. At the same time we maintain, and will

endeavor to prove—albeit in sincere sorrow—that “the fundamental position” of the author of *Dogma No Antidote for Doubt*, as above set forth and admitted, is *not* “the doctrine taught” or “the principle illustrated by Bishop McLaren,” but rather the reverse. We shall try to do this, and to answer at the same time those other questions which follow, viz. :

“Has he (Bishop McLaren) promulgated strange doctrine? Has he ignored the Protestant faith? Has he invalidated the authority of Revelation? Has he undermined the foundation of the Church? Has he given occasion for the weak to stumble, and the enemy to blaspheme?”

Now, if it had really been intended by Bishop McLaren, if it had been his real purpose, to avow that the *Catholic Dogma* which he desired to offer to the unbeliever, as an antidote for his doubts, was no other than the Christian Bible in all its fulness and completeness; we ask, if such in fact had been the case, is it possible to believe that the author of *Dogma No Antidote for Doubt*, or any other Protestant Churchman, would have written in condemnation of the Bishop and his theory for that cause? Would *that* have engendered a feeling of “disappointment and amazement?” Would *that* have stirred up “indignation and resentment in the mind of a Protestant Episcopalian? Would *that* have induced a prominent Church paper to declare, soon after the Bishop’s book was published, that the theory set forth in it is “*astounding*,” and that “the objections to it are of the most various kinds?” Or would another leading Church paper, in a recent issue, have admitted as it did, that for maintaining his criticisms upon Bishop McLaren’s book the “Member of the New York Bar” had a fair case?

But let us go directly to the question: Has he (Bishop McLaren) promulgated strange doctrines? We answer, yes. For, whereas the Church declares emphatically that

Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation; so that whatever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is

not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation.

Bishop McLaren, on the contrary, affirms [see *Catholic Dogma*, pp. 78-79] that the Church has knowledge of certain details of *essential* truth which are not to be found in the Bible, for the reason that they are not contained in the Bible. That the oral tradition of the Church is superior to the written Bible, which is only "subsidiary" to that tradition. That this same oral tradition is the only means by which the Scriptures can be verified, and the only criterion by which they are to be judged [Ibid., p. 78].

And this we aver to be "strange doctrine," and in direct conflict with that of the Church; but, as the author of *Dogma No Antidote for Doubt* very justly remarks, it is "in strict accord with that of Rome." It makes the Bible to be, not what it seems to be and to mean, to the reason and intelligence of mankind, to whom it was given by the Creator, as the sure and abiding record of His revealed will; but only that which the Church—whatever that may be held to be—shall choose to interpret and declare it to mean.

It is true that, according to the theory of Bishop McLaren, as it is literally developed in his book, this does not, in strictness, lead directly or necessarily to the adoption of the Romish system. It leads, really, only as far as to utter darkness and ignorance, both intellectual and spiritual, and there stops. For the Bishop declares that the true and final statements of *Catholic Dogma* are only to be found in the expression of the "consciousness of the whole congregation of the faithful" [p. 109], and we have even his own authority for declaring that that is something which it is impossible ever to attain; and for the sound and quite sufficient reason which he himself also gives, viz.: that "it would be impracticable to secure a consensus of the faith of 'the true people of GOD,'" since "GOD only knows who they are, and has not revealed to us their names" [p. 111].

But the trouble is, that none of Bishop McLaren's

readers will be willing to remain in darkness and ignorance, where and because he has lead them into it; and will be very likely to follow on still farther after any light which may be held out to them, though it may prove in the end to be only some false and delusive beacon. They may still be inclined to rest their hopes upon *Catholic Dogma*, and charitably suppose that the only difficulty with Bishop McLaren is that, in attempting to guide them, he has lost his way, or mistaken the true place of the oracle sought for.

But in this dilemma they will be very sure to hear the siren voice of Rome directing to the accessible, ever-audible, ever-intelligible oracle of Papal Infallibility; whereupon the problem for them is immediately solved, and the search ended.

Another "strange doctrine" which the Bishop has promulgated, and which, as the "Member of the New York Bar" has vividly demonstrated, is not only inconsistent with himself, but is also in direct and literal conflict with the Bible, the Creeds, and with the general view of the Church, as expressed in countless ways, is that the personal CHRIST, who, on the authority of His own Divine and express declarations, is ascended into Heaven, and there sitteth until He shall come again at the last day, is, notwithstanding, really and in fact—so the Bishop insists—no more there [that is, in Heaven] than in any other place; but that "He is here as really and truly as He is there" [Ibid., p. 34]. Thus making one of the chief articles of the Creed to be an idle, useless, and meaningless expression.

And this view is not taught or urged by Bishop McLaren as a mere theological speculation, but is insisted on for a purpose and design of the gravest significance to the whole Church; as is clearly demonstrated by his legal critic.

Thus all of the questions propounded by his champion, as in the Bishop's defence, receive their positive affirmative answer. For in all this it must be clearly seen that Bishop McLaren has not only "promulgated strange doctrines," but he has also "ignored the Protestant

faith." It proves that he has done more even than that. It proves that he has *denied* the Protestant faith, and set up strange and novel doctrines in its place.

He has also "invalidated the authority of Revelation," because he has set up *another* authority, which he says is both more ample and also superior to the written Scriptures [Ibid., p. 78] ; and, indeed, upon the verdict of this same tradition, the Bible is made dependent, even for its claims to be considered as the truth and to be thought worthy of belief [Ibid.].

For the same reasons he has also "undermined the foundations of the Church," which rest solely upon such truths as can be proved by the Bible only, and without the aid or the judicial determination of oral tradition.

For the same reasons, too, he has "given occasion for the weak to stumble, and for the enemy to blaspheme." For, when he undertook to guide them into the way of truth, "to solve their difficulties and to dismiss their fears," under promises of the most absolute assurance, he led them only into darkness, disappointment, and despair.

And not all the "ravings" of the Bishop's apologist can obscure the evidence or the significance of these facts.

With the help thus given, we trust that he will be able henceforth "to detect (at least some of) the precise passages that excite the disappointment, amazement, and indignation" of loyal Churchmen ; that he will see, moreover, that the charges against the Bishop's theory have been proved, and the above questions answered, not by "disjointed passages," nor by any disregard either of "the context," or of "philological criticism," or of "ecclesiastical usage," but by the fair use of "words and phrases," giving to them their natural and usual meaning, and such as they must be held to have been intended to convey. And he "must forgive us for suggesting" that he should not "presume to censure and condemn" on the one side, or to defend or extol on the other, when, and merely for the reason that, he "has failed to detect" the meaning of passages and expressions that is plain to every ordinary intelligence ; or because he has

not made himself "familiar with the question involved;" and that he ought long since to have learned that "sophistry and declamation" are neither "popular" nor profitable at the New York Bar, but rather, unhappily for the cause of religious truth, are, quite too often, to be found in the pulpits of the Church, and especially in the columns of a partisan Church press.

After this, our reviewer, as if oppressed with a consciousness that the only result of his attempts, so far, has been to establish, as we have seen, the orthodoxy of the "Member of the New York Bar," and the heresy of the Bishop of Chicago, he frankly admits that "it is necessary (for him) to go backward"—take a new departure, try again.

For this purpose certain facts are set forth for review as settled and established, and which may be briefly stated as follows: In progress of time, notwithstanding that dissensions arose and prevailed, notwithstanding that "heresies grew and persecutions raged," the Church preserved its identity and unity. "Hence the truth was never lost, because the Church (its witness and keeper) was never destroyed;" "it remained inviolate in the Books and the Creeds," which "were preserved as by a miracle, through fire and blood, without mutilation or decay."

It mattered not that the Church was enfeebled, and suffered reproaches and contempt by reason of its dissensions; nor that "the truth was encrusted by error, or trampled in the dust." It mattered not that, for ages, a mighty tide of heresy swept over the world, and threatened to wholly obliterate from recognition the very central idea, the most indispensable element of the Christian system—the Divine being and nature of CHRIST; nor that, by ever-unyielding schism, the visible Church had been rent, from one extremity to the other, into conflicting and hostile sections. It mattered not that "the sacred office was invaded by hirelings, and the sacrifices of the altar were offered with unholy hands;" for, at least, in form, "the true succession of the priesthood (so we are assured) was kept up, and

the due administration of the sacraments never lapsed," so that the Church has never been utterly destroyed, and God has never, at any time, been left without some witness somewhere, "in either the Jewish or the Christian Church." Nor will any Churchman or other Christian be disposed to deny what our reviewer further affirms, that the "vital elements of the Christian Faith," the "fundamental articles of the Christian Church, were preserved and maintained unaltered in their nature;" for in their nature they are absolutely and eternally unchangeable. Nor even that they were "undimmed in their lustre," although that lustre was too often unperceived amid the spiritual and intellectual darkness that prevailed, except by here and there a scattered few.

Nor will it be questioned that the vital elements of the Christian Faith were "undiminished in their power," for their power was none other than that of its Divine Author and Finisher; yet that power seemed to have lain long time, as if paralysed, amid the abounding corruptions of mankind; to but few was the arm of the LORD revealed, and but a despised remnant was left who did "seek after righteousness."

It is here, at this point, that we come to the most surprising thing of all. For our reviewer says: "It is in reference to these established principles and facts that the Vincentian Canon has been applied with so much propriety and force!" It is in reference to these established principles and facts, lamentable as is the picture of error and dissension which they present, and proving to every rational mind, if they have any force whatever, that the rule cannot possibly stand upon them, that we are asked to admit that Bishop McLaren has applied the Vincentian Canon with "much propriety and force!" It is not enough that we gladly accept the principles of Christianity as true, and amply proven by reasonable and legitimate means, but we must furthermore stultify ourselves by pretending to believe that such conviction has been brought about in our minds through the operation of a rule which we cannot help perceiving at

the same time to be of impossible application upon the facts stated, or indeed upon any similar facts.

For, the Vincentian rule requires that, in order to justify the adoption of any belief as our own, we must first know that such has been the belief of every one of the faithful in all ages and in all places. Whilst the facts are that such belief was, as to some of its most vital elements, formally denied and repudiated, for generations, by a vast majority of the visible Church throughout Christendom; and thus the Christian faith as taught by the Apostles, and now maintained by the Church, was held only by a small and persecuted minority.

It is more than high time that all this venerable cant about the Vincentian Canon should be recognised for the nonsense which it really is, and the Canon itself relegated where it belongs, to the limbo of exploded frauds and follies. We trust and believe that this book of our legal friend will do much to accomplish this desirable result, and to clear the theological atmosphere of one of its most noxious and blinding miasmata. As thus clearly demonstrated, it is easy to be seen by all who wish to see, that the rule in any and every point of view is impracticable and without result. No possible construction which can be given to it can render it of any use or value.

Let us endeavor in very few words to make this plain. The Rule, laid down by S. Vincent without qualification, is substantially this: that Christians are to believe that, and that only, which has been held everywhere, always, and by every one among the faithful. "The only element of uncertainty about it, as thus formulated, is involved in the question as to who are "the faithful?" They must consist of at least one of two classes. They must consist either of those who are visibly, apparently faithful, as indicated by their admission to membership in the Church, or they must consist of those only who are not merely visibly and nominally accounted faithful, but who are also really and truly so in the sight of God. Now, if the rule be tested under the former definition (whether in its absolute signification, as including *all*,

according to the natural import of its terms ; or as including only *nearly all*, as allowed by the qualification assigned by S. Vincent himself—in either case), it is manifest beyond question that, if the Vincentian Canon is to be our guide, we cannot believe all the now accepted doctrines of the Christian Faith, by reason of the many errors and heresies which have prevailed in the Church from time to time ; notably the great Arian heresy, which for so long a period drew after it nearly all of the Bishops and Priests of that time throughout all Christendom. A condition of things utterly incompatible with any rule that is based upon universality and unanimity of belief.

If, again, the rule (whether, as before, taken absolutely, or with the qualification) be tested under the latter definition of the faithful, that is to say, those only who are really and truly such in the sight of God, then it is equally clear that it must fail ; for no man or mortal power can determine who are the accepted of God—His faithful people. Even as Bishop McLaren himself admits, “God only knows who they are, and has not revealed to us their names.”

And the same results follow, whether the term “faithful” be held to include all who have ever been in the Church from the beginning, or whether it be limited to the faithful of any given period.

There is positively no salvation for the so-called Vincentian Canon, upon any possible construction, or with the aid of any interpretation which can be given to it. It must therefore be absolutely and forever condemned and abandoned.

MOSES AMES.

TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES.

Edited, with a Translation, Introduction, and Notes, by
the REV. ROSWELL D. HITCHCOCK, D.D., and
FRANCIS BROWN, New York. New York : Charles
Scribner's Sons. 1885.

A NEW and enlarged edition of this work is a sufficient proof of the great interest that the discovery of Bryennios has excited in the religious world. The edition before us is gotten up in excellent style by the publishers, and the Editors have endeavored to make it as complete as possible. A very full Introduction is prefixed by the junior Editor. In it are set forth the facts of the discovery of the manuscript. The question of the integrity of the text is discussed, and the references and allusions to this document, to be found in early Christian authors, are examined at length. The Editor also enumerates and discusses the various conjectures of scholars, before the time of Bryennios, in regard to what book was meant by the title of *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, which they found in ancient lists of Apocryphal books. *The Teaching* is also analysed in reference to its arrangement of matter, its purpose and scope, its doctrine, and the constitution of the Church as indicated in that document.

Appended to the *Didache* are numerous notes, a "digest of the *Didache* literature," and a copious index, the whole forming a very complete volume on this exceedingly interesting ancient document.

The translation in this new edition has been revised, and some inaccuracies of the previous hastily prepared

revision have been corrected, though a few blemishes will remain. For example, *πῶς μή*, line 250, is given a literal sense. It denotes surprise, and should be rendered "surely the idle man shall not live," etc. Again, in line 7, *χειροτονήσατε*, in both editions, is translated "appoint," and in the notes "appoint" is said to be "the original sense." This is hardly correct; the first sense being, as its derivation shows, "a selection by a showing of hands." The meaning of "ordain" is justly re-diated at this early period of the Church's history, but even "appoint" conveys too strong an idea of authority. It would be better to render it "choose." The passage would thus be in accord with the choosing of the Seven Deacons, as recorded in the *Acts of the Apostles*. In line 310, *ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος*, "under this curse," should be "under the curse itself." These and a few other such blemishes do not affect the general accuracy of the translation.

In the entire work there is exhibited a desire to be absolutely impartial, but occasionally, as perhaps could hardly be avoided, personal views and convictions unintentionally crop out. Thus in the note on lines 214 and 215, the Editor says of apostles and prophets, "They are apparently *only* evangelists or itinerant preachers." Leaving out the word "only," the observation is perfectly correct, but there is no justification for that word except what the Editor has learned, or thinks he has learned, from contemporaneous Church history. Again, in the note on line 269, it is truly said "there is no suggestion here of what is meant by the sacrifice of the Christians;" if at least the Editor intends by that "a propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead." But when the Editor goes on to quote Justin Martyr, that "prayers and thanksgivings, offered by the worthy are the only perfect and acceptable sacrifices," he is himself making a suggestion for which there is no more warrant in the text of the *Didache* than for the previous suggestion. The contrast, too, drawn by Justin Martyr, not between an outward ceremony and inward prayers and thanksgivings; but between the sacrifices made by

the unworthy degenerate Jews and the worthy Christian. In the *Didache* the word "sacrifice" is unexplained, and can be used to support no theory. All the inference that can be drawn is that the word is so constantly used in connection with the Eucharist that it needed no explanation even for those new converts to whom the *Didache* was in the main addressed.

The criticism by the senior Editor of the word *Maranatha* is hardly warranted. The vowels in Syriac, as in Hebrew, are a late invention to preserve the traditional pronunciation. These Syriac vowels were first applied by Theophilus of Edessa, who died about A.D. 791. The traditional pronunciation appears not to have been uniform in the different portions of Syria. Among the Nestorians the vowel *a* frequently takes the place of *o* among the Maronites and Jacobites, and there are other slight differences of pronunciation. In the Nestorian text of 1 *Corinthians* xvi. 22 we read *Maran etha*; in the Jacobite text, *Moran etho*. These both are preterite in time, the present tense according to the Nestorian would be *Maran athe*. The Greek reading was perhaps intended to represent this last form. In the other Syriac words, retained in the Greek of the New Testament, such as *Talitha cumi*, and our SAVIOUR'S words on the cross, the Greek is much nearer the Nestorian vocalisation than the Jacobite. There is, then, hardly sufficient reason to deny the universal ancient interpretation of *Maran atha*, "Our LORD cometh,"

That part of the *Didache* which refers to the Eucharist has perhaps the most interest to Christians at the present day. It constitutes, indeed, a manual of prayer which might with advantage be still used during the administration of the Holy Communion, where time does not permit of longer devotions. This portion of the *Didache* has been taken by many to be the entire form of the Eucharistic Celebration. The senior Editor of the book under review says: "The simplicity of this whole Eucharistic service is in marked contrast with the elaborateness of the later Liturgies;" though the junior

Editor in the Introduction acknowledges that "the Eucharist itself is not described."

The whole passage is evidently no Eucharistic Celebration. The absence of the Canon, the words and actions of the original Institution of the Sacrament which JESUS Himself commanded to be observed when he said, "Do this in remembrance of Me," would at once confirm such a conclusion. We must remember also that the instruction is given not to the Clergy, but to the recent Gentile converts, who had nothing to do with the Eucharist except to receive it devoutly after repentance and confessing their transgressions.

The Eucharist was to be celebrated on each LORD'S Day in an assembly of Christians. Before coming together those at variance were to be reconciled. Before the breaking of bread and giving thanks they were to confess their transgressions. The giving of thanks is distributed into three parts, each concluding with a doxology; the first, "concerning the cup;" the second, "concerning the broken bread;" the third, "after ye are filled." Each baptised convert, when the cup has been blessed, is directed to say:

We thank Thee, our Father, for the holy Vine of David, Thy Servant, Which Thou hast made known to us through JESUS Thy Servant; to Thee be the glory for ever.

After the bread has been broken, each one is directed to say:

We thank Thee, our Father, for the life and knowledge Thou hast made known to us through JESUS Thy Servant; to Thee be the glory for ever.

Then follows a short ejaculation for the unity of the Church, closed again by a doxology. After having partaken of the Eucharist, a longer thanksgiving is prescribed, "for the knowledge and faith and immortality which Thou hast made known to us through JESUS Thy Servant." "To us Thou hast graciously given spiritual food and drink and eternal life through Thy Servant." This thanksgiving likewise concludes with the same doxology.

The whole of this portion of the *Didache* is evidently nothing else than a Christian manual, to be used *during* the Eucharistic service, not the Eucharistic service itself.

The junior Editor says: "There is no well-defined doctrine of the Sacraments, but these are guarded by the exclusion of the unbaptised from the Eucharist." Such an assertion can be true only when there is a mental confusion of doctrine with philosophy. Of any *philosophy* of the Sacraments, how, when, and where, they accomplish the promised spiritual benefit, there is not the slightest token; but of the *doctrine* of the Sacraments, the assurance of the spiritual benefits, and the means by which they are attained, there is a well-defined statement.

The Church Catechism defines a Sacrament as an "outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace given unto us, ordained by CHRIST Himself, as a means whereby we receive the same, and a pledge to assure us thereof." In other answers the Catechism states the specific spiritual grace, and the specific means in each Sacrament. In this we have the whole *doctrine* of the Sacraments; all beyond, whether it concerns transubstantiation, or consubstantiation, or concomitance, or any other of the numerous theories of the Divine Presence in the Eucharist, is a question of philosophy, not of doctrine.

The passages of the *Didache* relating to the Eucharist clearly exhibit the fulness of sacramental doctrine in its proper sense. There is the outward sign, "the Cup," "the broken Bread." There is the inward spiritual grace, "the knowledge and faith and immortality;" "Thy Holy Name which Thou hast caused to dwell in our hearts;" "to us Thou hast graciously given spiritual food and drink and eternal life." This Sacrament was also ordained by CHRIST. The convert is directed to thank God "for the holy Vine of David Thy servant, Which Thou hast made known to us through JESUS Thy Servant." The Eucharist was the means and instrument of this grace, for it is, "after they are filled" that

they are directed to give thanks for the spiritual benefits received.

All these doctrines are presented, not as mere exercises of the intellect, but are woven into the devotions of the faithful recipient of the Eucharist. Precepts are, however, given for the practical preparation for that holy Sacrament. "Whoever is holy, let him come; whoever is not, let him repent." "Let no one eat of your Eucharist, except those baptised into the name of the LORD."

The brief notices of the ministry which are found in the *Didache* seem also to have been widely misapprehended. The argument from omission has been pressed to its fullest extent. Omission is very far from being a denial. It must be remembered that this document is evidently a plain and simple instruction to the newly converted as to what they must do in private life and in the public service of the Church. Thus the junior Editor says, "It is designed to give them practical instruction in the Christian life." In this respect therefore it stands on precisely the same footing in the early Church as our Church Catechism at the present day. In the Church Catechism, a document of about the same length as the *Didache*, we find not the slightest mention of the three Orders of the ministry, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons; but would any one argue, from such an omission, that the Church at the present time had no definite ministry, but only a vague class of instructors and rulers designated in the Catechism as "governors, teachers, spiritual pastors, and masters?" Yet when the Catechism was written the constitution of the ministry was a subject of violent controversy.

In a simple instruction for children or the newly converted, naturally only such things are introduced as are of practical importance. When there was no dispute as to the constitution of the ministry any special instruction in regard to its nature would, in the case of neophytes, be superfluous.

In three matters, however, of practical importance, touching the ministry, they do receive very plain direc-

tion. In the first place, since their spiritual pastors were in those days chosen by the people, they are directed, "Appoint for yourselves Bishops and Deacons worthy of the LORD, men meek and not avaricious, and upright and proved." In the second place, they were to respect and esteem their ministers,

For they render you the service of the prophets and teachers. Therefore neglect them not ; for they are the ones who are honored of you, together with (rather *among*—μετά, not σύν) the prophets and teachers.

Among all the prophets and teachers, those whom they have chosen to be over themselves are especially to be honored by them. Those also who came from abroad, in whose appointment they had had no hand, were likewise to be held in honor. "Every Apostle that cometh to you, let him be received as the LORD." In the third place, they were to support their chosen pastors.

Every true prophet who will settle among you is worthy of his support. Every first fruit, then, of the products of wine-press and threshing-floor, of oxen and of sheep, thou shalt take and give to the prophets ; for they are your high-priests (or chief-priests). Likewise a true teacher, he also is worthy, like the workman, of his support. . . . When thou openest a jar of wine or oil, take the first of it, and give to the Prophets ; and of money and clothing and every possession take the first, as may seem right to thee, and give according to the commandment.

Although there is no direct teaching in the *Didache* as to the constitution of the ministry, several characteristics are very clearly assumed. In the first place, the ministry was a permanent office, not a mere temporary presidency in the congregation. The Apostles and Prophets who went from place to place were to be received everywhere as Prophets, and held in honor "as the LORD." In the second place, the ministry was more than a permanent office filled by one of the people. It constituted an order distinct from the people. The Clergy were to have special qualifications. They were chosen and set apart for a special work which occupied their whole attention. They were sup-

ported not by the labor of their own hands, but by specifically appointed offerings from the people. In the third place, the *Didache* testifies very clearly against a parity in the ministry. There were two classes of ministers resident in the congregation, "Bishops and Deacons." The latter were not laymen, nor mere stewards of the temporalities of the Church. Both classes were required to have the same qualifications. They are spoken of together as rendering "the service of Prophets and teachers." The Bishops, as "Prophets," exercised spiritual authority; the Deacons, while taking their appropriate part in "the service," occupied the more humble position of "teachers." Fourthly, the Apostles constituted another distinct class of the ministry. What were their peculiar functions we have no means of learning from the *Didache*. All that we are told is that they went from place to place, and were not to tarry longer than one, or at the most two days, in each place. They were to receive food and lodging, and to take away with them "nothing but bread enough" to last until they reached their next lodging.

The Apostles and Prophets were evidently not identical. A "true Prophet" might settle among the people permanently and claim support from them, but an Apostle could not stay more than two days. In regard to Prophets there is one very peculiar expression in the *Didache*. It is translated by the Editors, "Every Prophet, proved, true, acting with a view to the mystery of the Church on earth, but not teaching to do all that he himself doeth, shall not be judged among you; for with God he has his judgment; for so did the ancient Prophets also." It is a difficult passage, and the Editors' notes do not throw much light upon it. The translation runs, "The mystery of the Church on earth," and in the note it is explained, "The service of the Church, which is a mystery," a meaning which the Greek will hardly bear. There is no article before "mystery," and the adjective *κοσμικόν* agrees with "mystery," not with "the Church." Making these changes and retaining the rather awkward translation of *ποιῶν εἰς*, the passage

reads, "Acting with a view to an earthly mystery of the Church." The verb *ποιεῖν* is constantly used in both classic and ecclesiastical Greek of celebrating a festival, or conducting religious mysteries, and especially for offering sacrifices. The word "mystery" is in Greek the exact equivalent of the Latin *sacramentum*, not, however, always in its limited sense, but of any sacramental rite. The "earthly mystery" would be in contradistinction to the "heavenly mystery," with perhaps an allusion to our LORD'S words to Nicodemus [*S. John* iii. 12]. The latter part of the sentence is explained by the Editor as referring to ascetic practices. This is pure conjecture, since there is absolutely nothing in the text to lead to it. It seems almost necessary to take the three words, *ποιῶν*, *ποιεῖν*, and *ποιεῖ* (being in such close connection), in the same sense. "Not teaching to do all that he himself doeth," would then refer to the divulging of the sacred mysteries, against which there were stringent regulations in the Church as early as the time of Tertullian. "For so did the ancient Prophets," would, from the context, seem to refer rather to their fearless speaking of the truth at the bidding of God, and their relinquishing of visible means of support, and dependence upon the voluntary offerings of the devout people of God.

The "Prophets" would thus seem to have been the "stewards of the mysteries of God." The writer of the *Didache* apparently had this very passage of S. Paul in his mind, for he goes on to say, the Prophet "shall not be judged among you, for with God he hath his judgment," words very similar to those of the Apostle. The Prophets are here represented as exercising the priestly office, and in another place they are directly called "your high-priests," or "chief-priests." The "Bishops" also exercised the same office, for it is said, "They, too, render you the service (or liturgy) of the Prophets." The former were limited to a single congregation, while the latter had a recognised authority everywhere in the Church, though, if they saw fit, they could settle over a single congregation. The "Apostles," on the other

hand, were prohibited from thus settling down in one place.

The *genuineness* of the *Didache* is beyond reasonable doubt. Its simple moral and doctrinal teaching, and its picture of Church practice and discipline are all so natural and so true to what we know of the state of the Church at the beginning of the II. century as to preclude the idea of forgery.

The *date* of this document is, with good reason, assigned to a period not later than the middle of the II. century. The Editors, however, seem to have been carried away by their enthusiasm when contending for so early a date as 100 A.D. Perhaps the judgment of Bryennios himself was not far from right, who placed it between 140 and 160 A.D. The principal argument for the earlier date, by the junior Editor of the volume under review, is derived from its connection with the Epistle of S. Barnabas. He maintains

it is a presumptive argument for the priority of the teaching to Barnabas, that the former is briefer, more uniform in style, more orderly in arrangement, more sober in its requirements.

He justly asserts that "these are all marks of originality not to be overcome except by strong counter-arguments." Hence he concludes that the *Didache* must have been written long enough before the time of the Epistle of S. Barnabas for its author to have become acquainted with, and to make use of, the *Didache*.

The Editor, however, entirely overlooks or ignores the theory of so distinguished a scholar as Bishop Lightfoot, that the matter common to these two documents is original with neither, but drawn from a previously existing common source, to which the *Didache* adhered more closely than S. Barnabas. The Bishop concludes that "neither author plagiarises from the other." When we farther take into account that the parallel passages of S. Barnabas (with the exception of the first quoted by the Editor) are all contained in the four last chapters of that epistle, the whole force of the argument is removed, even from the Editor's point of

view. Those four chapters have long been suspected by critics of forming no part of the original epistle. There is quite a difference in language and thought. Hefele also testifies that those chapters did not exist in the ancient Latin version, though on other grounds he attributes them to S. Barnabas. They bear all the marks of being a later addition to the Epistle, and are so disconnected with what precedes as to receive a separate title, "Part Second of the Epistle. Concerning the Two Ways." The two parts are awkwardly joined by the introductory sentence, "Let us proceed now to a second inquiry and instruction." The argument drawn from the supposed use of the *Didache* by the author of the epistle attributed to S. Barnabas failing to be sustained, there is nothing to carry the *Didache* to a date earlier than 150 A.D.

What *authority* are we to attribute to this document in determining matters of Christian practice and doctrine? It is, in connection with other early Christian writings, a witness of much importance, but only as a witness. It was uniformly placed, by all the early writers who name it, in the list of apocryphal books, those which might be read in the churches for moral instruction and guidance, but had no authority to decide matters of doctrine or practice. As such a witness it presents to us a picture of many important details in the morality, the devotion, and the religious life of the Christian in the times immediately subsequent to the last of the twelve Apostles. We consider this document to be of so much value that we rejoice to see a new and enlarged edition put forth. We are convinced that the more the Christian community of the present day studies the really primitive documents, the more will they be imbued with the true spirit of primitive Christianity.

WM. W. OLSEN.

PROGRESS OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL RESEARCH.

Tiryns. The Prehistoric Palace of the Kings of Tiryns. The results of the latest excavations by DR. HENRY SCHLIEMANN, with preface by PROFESSOR F. ADLER, and contributions by DR. WILLIAM DÖRPFELD. 188 woodcuts, 24 plates in chromolithography, map, and 4 plans. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1885.

THERE is a natural craving of the human mind for accurate knowledge of its own development, which extends its inquiries far backward into the past, to learn what it has been, and well onward into the future, to penetrate the veil of mist which envelops the fate which is yet in store for it.

In times past the latter phase has been manifested in various forms; among the less legitimate, in the science of Astrology and Divination, which has had its devotees and wise men in abundance. Doubtless, to many minds, that form in which the opposite phase chiefly manifests itself, the *growing* science of Archæology, deserves no higher classification; by many its researches will be regarded as equally futile with observations of the stars to determine the future, and its conclusions as based upon no more rational foundations; wise *guesses* at the truth being the most substantial element in each. Unquestionably, the enthusiasm of many devotees of this science leads them into extravagances of conclusion not warranted by the degree of importance and positiveness in their discoveries. Yet, *without* the enthusiasm which is responsible for the extravagances, the labor of developing these discoveries would scarcely be undertaken; and

sober-minded men will find no difficulty in separating what is irrational from that which, with one consent, they will recognise as truly valuable in establishing the facts of prehistoric civilisation.

The term Archæology has undergone an important development in comprehension in later years. It is only within the near past that the word has been applied to anything *beyond* the range of antiquarian research among the classic ruins of Greek and Roman Art. Although the derivation of the word would suggest a much wider field of application, yet common usage sanctioned its restriction to these comparatively narrow limits, until the advance of scientific investigation, and more especially the discoveries of modern geological research, pointed out the fact that Mother Earth holds within her bosom substantial "remains" of ages and peoples quite as important, in determining the different phases of prehistoric civilisation, as those which pertain solely to the classic myths and legends of Greece and Rome, or the ancient culture of Babylon and Egypt.

The "stone age" of the older archæologists has been pushed back into a remote antiquity, not so much as dreamed of by them in their most irrational moments, and a new and undeveloped chapter opened up in archæological study.

This term is still restricted, however, in its application to the study of prehistoric man from the remains of *his own handiwork*; but this field is constantly spreading out its borders, and, as its expansion progresses, that which once furnished the full comprehension of the term assumes more and more the aspect of a subdivision of a larger and a broader science.

Classical antiquities, nevertheless, still hold a high rank of honor in a branch of study which is yearly growing in importance and interest in the minds of thoughtful men. To this branch of Archæological research we must chiefly confine our present observations. The broader field, as it spreads out before us at the present day, offers much tempting material, in its revelations of the development of civilisation through the ad-

vancing stages of the, so-called, old and new stone, the bronze and iron ages down to the days of written history; but the demands of space compel us to refrain from more than a passing note, here and there, outside the range of what we may call *Classical Archæology*.

By this title we understand the study of those "remains" in the different departments of Architecture, Sculpture, Pottery, and implements of peace and war, which throw light upon those phases of human life and progress depicted in the great epics of Greece and Rome.

The beginning of modern Archæological research in this direction may be placed in the latter part of the XVIII century, when a French artist sketched the cultures of the Parthenon, and providentially preserved for after-generations an accurate, though a crude, representation of those valuable relics of ancient Athens, which so soon after perished in the bombardment of the city by the Venetians.

From that date forward researches have been prosecuted with varying degrees of energy and activity, and numerous works on Classic Art have been published, from time to time, by German, French, and English explorers.

The discovery of Herculaneum in 1720, and of Pompeii in 1748, marked an epoch in archæological study. The purely antiquarian spirit gave place to the more scientific methods, which formulate the various discoveries into a connected history of the past.

The real founder of this method of treating relics—Winckelmann—gave a new impulse to this branch of investigation; yet his labors, as well as those of his immediate disciples in Germany, were chiefly theoretical.

But while these Germans were inventing theories and writing books thereon, the more practical English mind saw the necessity of gathering more substantial materials upon which to construct them. In 1751, two Englishmen, Revett and Stuart, went to Athens and spent the greater part of three years in exploring its ruins, and sketching the remains of Art which were brought to light. Much valuable material was thus secured, and the

results of their labors were presented to the public in a work entitled *The Antiquities of Athens*, the first volume of which appeared in 1762, but the fourth more than 50 years later (1816).

Each succeeding decade of the present century has been marked by the publication of valuable additions to archæological literature. These books are concerned chiefly with works of Art pertaining to a purely historic period, Grecian sculptures forming a predominant feature in their illustrations.

The last twenty years, however, have been specially marked in the rapid strides these researches have made, not alone on Grecian ground, but as well in Egypt and Babylonia, in Palestine and Rome and England.

In the latter—chiefly through accident, however—numerous interesting relics of the Roman occupation have been brought to light. At Rome the residence of an uncle of Julian the Apostate has been uncovered, and interesting information of that period obtained. The great Hall of the Vestal Virgins has been excavated, and a collection of Anglo-Saxon coins recovered, which comprises nearly a thousand pieces bearing the stamps of Alfred, Edward, Athelstan, and other ancient monarchs of the British Isles.

In Palestine, the sites of most of the places of importance in Bible history have been located with more or less certainty, and in connection therewith information collected which will prove of vast service in elucidating the sacred narrative.

But of much greater importance are the results of recent researches in Egypt and Babylonia. In Babylon, Rassam has recovered records which cover a long period of its history prior to the capture of the city by Cyrus. The sites of two cities of much earlier date than Babylon have been located and the ruins explored; one of those, Sippara, the city of the Sun-god, is believed to have been founded before the flood, and to be identical with one of the cities of Sepharvaim, mentioned in 2 Kings. Here, in the ruins of the great temple, was found a votive tablet, commemorating a great victory of

one of the kings of Babylon, the date of which is not later than 850 B.C. A terra cotta cylinder is inscribed with a record of the battles of King Nabonidus, and the repairing of this same temple of the Sun-god by Nar-amsin, son of Sargon, the date of which it gives as 3750 B.C.

Numerous other relics of extreme antiquity, which throw light upon the prehistoric days of Babylonia, must be passed by here ; nor can we more than allude to the especially valuable discoveries made in Egypt during the past five or six years.

The most recent of these, the discovery of the great store-city of Pithom, has but recently been presented to the readers of the REVIEW in a special article. Other important facts have been brought to light by the "Egypt Exploration Fund."

The work of General Cesnola in Cyprus, the relics of his excavations now on exhibition in the City of New York, as well as the bitter controversy waged over them in recent days, are doubtless so familiar to readers of the REVIEW that they will require no further mention here.

Since 1875, the German Government has been carrying on excavations in Greece, chiefly at Olympia and Pergamon.

In the former place the discoveries are of special interest as throwing light upon the famous Olympian Games. The entire sacred grove was laid bare, revealing, among other interesting relics, the ruins of the buildings connected with the games, and the great Temple of Zeus, said to have been more imposing than the famous Parthenon. The colossal sculptures of the pediments of this magnificent pile were all recovered, some in a fair state of preservation. These are said to be the finest specimens of their class yet recovered from the ruins of ancient Greece. The round temple, built by Philip of Macedon, was also uncovered and found to be fairly well preserved. The grand gymnasium, most magnificent building of Olympia, was explored, and hundreds of inscriptions recovered, many of them referring to the Olympian Games.

At Pergamon one of the finest and best preserved pieces recovered was the frieze of heroic sculpture from the great altar, representing the battle of the gods and the giants. This piece was executed not later than 200 B.C.

The part America has taken in these explorations must not be passed by without notice.

Important results were obtained by the excavations carried on for two years at Assos by the Archæological Institute of America. The ancient bridge, which was uncovered here, is said to be the only example known of a Greek bridge. These immense walls, which in some parts are nearly perfect to their original height of 60 feet, date back to the IV century B.C., while many of the tombs opened are as old as the VII. Another noteworthy feature of this exhumed City is believed to be the only specimen of a four-story structure yet discovered.

Another party of Americans, known as the "Wolf Expedition," was sent out from New York about two years ago, for the purpose of exploring some of the Babylonian ruins.

The "Egypt Exploration Fund" has also received valuable assistance in American money in prosecuting its labors at Pithom and Zoan. This was accomplished through the efforts of the Rev. Mr. Winslow, of Boston, who gave an account of the work at Pithom in the July (1885) number of the *REVIEW*.

Even upon our own soil Archæological research has not been wanting. The shell heaps of the coast of Maine, and the ancient mounds of many of the Southern and Western States, have yielded up treasures which are considered important as determining to some extent the character of prehistoric civilisation on this Western continent.

These are but notes here and there of the activity and progress of Archæological research in the immediate past. No attempt has been made to present even a full synopsis of the labors undertaken, much less of their results; but enough has been said to indicate the grow-

ing interest in these investigations and the increasing importance of the results, as excavations are extended beyond the limits of historic deposits.

To lovers of Homer, however, none of the explorations mentioned will equal in interest those carried on during the past fifteen years by Dr. Henry Schliemann, whose latest publication is noted as a heading to this article. With most disinterested zeal this man has been spending a large fortune, accumulated during a successful business career in St. Petersburg, in adding to our knowledge of prehistoric Greece. His wonderful acquisition of languages was largely the work of leisure hours while in active business life. The study of Greek he began as late as his thirty-fourth year, mastering the modern tongue, it is said, in less than two months. A few more months sufficed to enable him to read classical authors with facility, when the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* became his favorite study. By these he was filled with that enthusiasm which has characterised his recent work in the archæological field.

His first publication (1869) was an account of travels during which he explored the traditional sites of many of the places mentioned by Homer, and believed he had located the home of Ulysses in Ithaca.

The common belief of modern scholars that the narratives of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are pure fables, gathered up by the author from popular tradition, he had never accepted, and he now determined to make it the labor of his advanced years (he is now in his sixty-fourth year) to establish the general historical accuracy of the descriptions and localities found in the works of Homer, to rescue his two grand epics from the realm of romantic fiction, and find for them a resting-place under the auspices of the Historic Muse.

To this end he returned, in 1871, to the Troad, where, during his former explorations, he had located the site of ancient Troy on the plateau of Hissarlik. On this site he labored until 1873, making extensive excavations, the results of which he published in German in 1874, and of which an English version, edited by Dr. Philip

Smith, was published in London (1875) under the title *Troy and its Remains*.

The boldness with which Dr. Schliemann put forth his conclusions in this work brought down upon his head a storm of ridicule and criticism from Homeric critics and scholars; indeed, such a radical departure from accepted views, and such a ruthless overturning of pet theories—based, it must be confessed, upon extremely meagre foundations—could have been expected to do no less; and later investigations convinced our author himself that he had been, in some instances, much too rash and hasty in his assertions. More reserve, perhaps, in the statement of conclusions in this first publication, would have inclined scholars of different opinion to give his theories more serious and patient consideration. The effect of this book upon the minds of scholars in general was to convince them, not that he had laid bare the homes of ancient Troy, but that he had stumbled upon some forgotten village, possibly of the Phœnicians, upon whose crumbled ruins the modern Ilium had been built.

Excavations here were carried to a depth of 50 feet, uncovering the natural bed-rock. The plan adopted was that of ordinary coal-mining, with shafts and lateral galleries. Dr. Schliemann believed that he could identify the ruins of seven distinct cities built one above another. In the seventh, or upper one, he recognised, from coins and inscriptions, the *historical* Ilium; and in the third the Troy of Homer. Here he found the palace of King Priam, the Scæan Gate and the walls of Neptune and Apollo. From the palace was obtained a large collection of vases and royal ornaments of gold and silver. Later excavations, the results of which he published in the works *Ilios* and *Troja*, led him to modify somewhat the conclusions put forth in *Troy and its Remains*, though he was *confirmed* in his opinion that he had discovered the genuine ruins of the city of Homer. Closer investigation showed that the massive walls to which he assigned this honor were part of the second instead of the third city, the latter having been built up *within* the former, the old walls having been

left as they were found. This, of course, led to some confusion as to what belonged to the second and what to the third. In the other cases the old ruins had been levelled before the new city was begun.

One feature of these discoveries produced a decided impression upon archæologists, and seemed at first to be in direct opposition to the generally received "doctrine" that civilisation may be traced, in all places which have been the abode of man from prehistoric times, through the distinct stages represented by the stone, the bronze, and the iron ages. In this respect, Dr. Schliemann's excavations at Hissarlik laid bare a riddle for their solution.

Near the surface of these accumulated ruins of unknown ages, the "remains" exhumed were evidently the product of a civilisation belonging to a purely *historic* period of antiquity. At a depth of a little more than two yards, implements and pottery possessing the characteristics of the bronze stage of development began to appear. A depth of five yards brought to light (as would naturally have been expected if this law holds good) distinct evidences of a settlement belonging to the neolithic or later stone age—axes, hammers, and other implements of polished stone and lava, knives and saws of flint, and unadorned pottery of rude manufacture; but *nothing* to indicate that the inhabitants possessed any knowledge of metal-working. Up to this point all was "as it should be." But when this distance had been doubled the developments were of a most unexpected character. The excavators found themselves in the midst of an advanced civilisation, which could, by no possibility, be assigned to an *earlier* stage than that through which they had just passed. The finely wrought implements and weapons of bronze, and the superior quality and finish of the pottery lying here *beneath* the "remains" of a people who had reached no higher development in the arts than the manufacture of rude implements of stone, belonged unquestionably to a state of civilisation ages in *advance* of its *successor*.

It is not impossible, however, to explain this rather

unusual phenomenon without doing violence to the general law already stated; such explanation will be evident when we consider that it is not an unheard-of thing, even in historic times, to find a civilised people succumbing to the inroads of a barbarous horde, and the marks of their culture giving place to the ruder arts of their savage conquerors. But when we recede beyond the limits of written history and consider the space of time which may have elapsed between the destruction of one of these cities and the building of its successor, we need not introduce even the element of conquest. The desolated site of an advanced civilisation, which had yielded to the strange vicissitudes of generations, may have offered a tempting resting-place to some wandering tribe of Eastern barbarians, and humanity begun, as it were, anew its struggle upward upon the scene of its former greatness.

The next important work of Dr. Schliemann was the excavation of Mycenæ, in the plain of Argos, which he completed in 1876. Here he uncovered the citadel of Agamemnon, and explored the treasury of Atreus, commonly called the Tomb of Agamemnon by the natives of the present day. He also discovered several other tombs, in one of which were a number of bodies, one of them remarkable for its covering of large leaves of gold. Near the well-known "Gate of the Lions" he also unearthed another treasury, from which were taken many interesting relics. The results of these excavations, which were published in the book *Mycenæ* [1878], are chiefly valuable as confirming the Homeric account of the characteristics and culture of the Argives. More extended notice of them must be omitted here.

In 1878 and 1879 Ithaca was more thoroughly explored, and further excavations made at Troy, the results of which appear in the work *Ilios* [1880].

Next followed an investigation of the treasure house of Orchomenos, and a journey of general observation through the Troad, an account of which appeared in a *Journey in the Troad and Orchomenos* [1881].

Early in 1882 this indefatigable man renewed his re-

searches on the site of Troy, and in his third book (*Troja*, 1884) on this fascinating theme corrected what he considered the errors of imperfect observation and too hasty judgment put forth in the two earlier books, *Troy* and *Ilios*.

In estimating the labors of Dr. Schliemann between 1871 and 1884, it must be remembered that, in addition to the time spent in the actual work of travel and excavation, he wrote and superintended the publication of most of these books in French and German as well as English.

The discoveries at Troy and Mycenæ had now so shaken his faith in the *accepted traditions* of the "remains" of ancient Greece, and so firmly established his confidence in his own novel theories, that he could not rest idle while a single one remained untested.

For some time he had been looking with suspicious eye upon the Tumulus of Marathon and the tradition connected therewith. All authorities admit that the accepted story of the burial, *on the field of battle*, of the 192 Athenian heroes who sacrificed their lives in giving to Miltiades his celebrated victory over the Persians at Marathon, was a remarkable *exception* to the established Attic custom; yet this tumulus is commonly believed to have been erected over their bodies, as a monument to their disinterested patriotism and the generalship of Miltiades.

In February, 1884, Dr. Schliemann proceeded to demolish this theory, by diving into the very midst of this so-called house of the dead and bringing to the light of day the hidden secrets of its innermost recesses. None of the relics common to the ancient tombs of Greece were discovered therein, although excavations were pushed to a depth below the level of the surrounding plain and finally stopped by reaching water. The relics recovered indicated that the building of the mound was of more ancient date than the battle of Marathon [490 B.C..] The fragments of pottery were of the same character as those assigned to the VIII. or IX century B.C., and the implements and weapons pointed even to an

earlier date. If Dr. Schliemann's inferences are correct, this tumulus had been standing for several centuries when Miltiades conquered the Persians on the neighboring plain. But whether of earlier date than the battle of Marathon or not, the absence of all the usual contents of a tomb would seem to indicate that it was not the *burial place* of the 192 heroes, though it may have been a *cenotaph* erected to their memory. This certainly would be more in conformity with Attic custom than the received tradition, to hold which we are obliged to account for a total departure from their rule.

Immediately after completing the excavations at the Tumulus of Marathon, Dr. Schliemann began preparations for carrying out a design, which he had entertained for a long time, of examining, more thoroughly than had yet been done, the ruins of the ancient city of Tiryns, in the plain of Argos.

Beginning on March 15, 1884, work here was continued until the heat of summer drove them from the field. Operations were again resumed in May, 1885, and continued for two months. In this work Dr. Schliemann was assisted by Dr. William Dörpfeld, of the German Archæological Institute at Athens, whose name has been lately prominent in connection with the excavations at Olympia.

The results of these extensive excavations have recently appeared before the American public in the work *Tiryns*, issued by the publishing house of Charles Scribner's Sons. This volume is a perfect specimen of the book-maker's art, beautifully printed upon the best of paper, superbly illustrated with woodcuts, plans, and colored plates, and richly bound.

The literary plan of the book is, to say the least, unfortunate, though, doubtless, unavoidable. As first written it did not include the results of the work of the present year; but, when nearly ready for publication, it was found that these results so modified, and in some instances totally changed the conclusions of the previous year, that it would be advisable to delay the issue of the work, and insert a supplemental chapter,

leaving the original composition unchanged. This, of course, leads to contradictions and confusion. After having studied the body of the work, with its maps and plans, one enters upon Chapter VI. and at once discovers that new plans must be mastered, and much that he has already learned cast aside as erroneous. The Preface of the book comes from the pen of Professor F. Adler, of Berlin. It is a learned discussion of the bearings of the discoveries at Troy, Mycenæ, Orchomenos, and Tiryns, upon the subject of ancient architecture, and will well repay a careful perusal. In the first chapter Dr. Schliemann discloses the nature of his labors and his method of conducting them; and the second gives an outline of the history of the plain of Argos, with the myths and legends particularly relating to Tiryns. In the third and fourth he describes and illustrates with numerous engravings the various objects of interest, principally pottery, idols, and stone implements, brought to light during the progress of the excavations. He then resigns the pen to Dr. Dörpfeld, who proceeds to develop, in Chapter V., what will generally be considered the most important results of the work, viz., the plan and construction of the palace in all its details. Chapter VI., written also by Dr. Dörpfeld, contains the supplemental material brought to light during the excavations of the present year. It unfortunately gives evidence of great haste in preparation; but this will be readily excused when it is perceived how important it was that the book should not be issued without a record of this later work.

Tiryns, now called Paleocastron, is remarkable as being one of the oldest, and by far the best preserved, of the fortified cities of prehistoric Greece. We find many of its kings prominent in the great epics of Homer. Connected with its traditional history are the names of Proitos, under whom it was fortified; Megapenthes, Perseus, Hercules, upon whom Eurystheus imposed the twelve labors, and the succeeding Heracleidæ. Tradition says that its first name was Haleis, so called from the fishermen who first built their huts upon its rocks.

Its ruins are universally referred to as the oldest specimens of Greek architecture in existence. More properly, perhaps, they may be styled the most ancient specimens of *architecture* now visible in Greece; for *Greek* architecture proper may be considered as having its origin in the later city of Mycenæ, whose walls are modelled after those of Tiryns, but exhibit some advance in architectural ideas.

This species of wall is usually designated by the appellation "Cyclopean," from a tradition existing among the later Greeks that they were built by the Cyclops of mythology, a race of giants belonging to Lycia. This tradition undoubtedly arose from the immense size and weight of the blocks of limestone of which they are built, no lesser race than the fabled Cyclops being considered equal to the task of placing these immense stones in their lofty position. Pausanias, who is the great source of information on the early traditions of Argos, compares them with the famous pyramids of Egypt for their colossal proportions and massive structure.

The term "Cyclopean" continues to be applied to this species of ancient masonry, but the theory as to the builders has changed somewhat. That which generally obtains at the present day is, that they were constructed by the so-called Pelasgians, a race of people who occupied the Argolic plain previous to the ancient Hellenes.

Professor Heeren finds that these "Pelasgi" came from Asia Minor or Syria, and settled in the Peloponnesus, under the leadership of Inachos, about the year 1800 B.C.; that they were the founders of the ancient State of Argos and the builders of the walls of Tiryns; that, after an occupation of about 300 years, they were driven from the Argolic plain by the Hellenes, who adopted their general style of architecture, but with many improvements, as witness the walls of Mycenæ.

Mr. Gladstone, in his preface to Dr. Schliemann's book *Mycenæ*, objects to both these appellations for this species of masonry :

The first (Cyclopean), because it does not inform; the second (Pelagic), because it misleads, for these buildings have no true connection with the Pelasgian tribes.

What they indicate is the handiwork of the great constructing race or races, made up of several elements, who migrated into Greece and elsewhere on the Mediterranean, from the South and East, and who exhibit an usual, though perhaps not an invariable, connection with the Poseidon-worship; a worship with which the Cyclopean name is, through the *Odyssey*, perceptibly associated, and which is one of the main keys, as I have long been persuaded, wherewith in time to unlock, for Hellenic and Homeric regions, the secrets of antiquity.

He also suggests as a name for these walls, "until a better can be found," the appellation "Poseidonian."

Dr. Schliemann takes up this connection between the Cyclops of the *Odyssey* and Poseidon (Polyphemus was the son of Poseidon), and traces the building of the walls of Tiryns to the Phœnicians, supporting this theory by the many traces of Phœnician influence in that part of Greece, in names evidently of Semitic origin, in the identity of Hercules, born at Tiryns, with the Phœnician god, Melkarth, in the similarity between the walls themselves and those found in Ithaca, Crete, and other localities where Phœnician settlements are known to have existed, and in the Phœnician origin of many Greek words.

From all of which he concludes:

We may therefore assume, with great probability, that the gigantic walls of Tiryns were built by Phœnician colonists; and the same is probably the case with the great prehistoric walls in many other parts of Greece.

In regard to which it may be remarked that, however sure we may be that there was close intercourse between the Phœnicians and the ancient inhabitants of the Argolic plain, however much their influence may appear in Greek nomenclature, religion or mythology (a fact which few would question), yet we must remember that there were inhabitants of another race in Argos before it was visited by Phœnicians, as Dr. Schliemann himself states elsewhere:

We find incontrovertible evidence of this Pelasgic settlement in the names Argos and Larissa, which are Pelasgic. . . . and again in the myth of the old Pelasgic moon- and cow-goddess Io, daughter of Inachos.

Now, it does not appear how the clearest evidence of Phœnician influence, intercourse, or even settlement in prehistoric times, unless the very *earliest*, should also *prove* that these walls were not already built when the Phœnicians first set foot in Argos; for it is clear that there were people there before them who were capable of such building.

If any traces of distinctively *Phœnician workmanship* existed *in the walls themselves*, the case would be different; but such traces Dr. Schliemann will have pointed out scarcely to the satisfaction of archæologists who hold an opposite theory. The mere resemblance, in general structure, to other walls in places where Phœnician colonies are known to have existed does not assist the argument, unless it can be proved that these others were actually of Phœnician workmanship; but is it not as difficult to prove this in one case as in the other? If the so-called Pelasgians were driven out of Argos by the Hellenes, and scattered themselves in other parts of Greece and throughout the neighboring islands, as tradition states, why may they not have continued, on the island of Crete or at Ithaca, while the Phœnicians were strangers there as well as in Argos, the building of such walls as they had left behind them in their former home? Without the aid of an exact comparative chronology we are very much "at sea" in attempting to adduce *proof*.

The only point in the argument here which appears to bear with any force *upon the question at issue*, is the conclusion recently put forth by certain archæologists, that the lower walls of the temple of Baalbeck, formed like the walls of Tiryns, of gigantic blocks of stone, were built by Phœnicians. This conclusion is based upon a Phœnician inscription lately discovered on the walls of Mount Eryx, in Sicily.

Another point, not mentioned by Dr. Schliemann because it had not come to light when he wrote his argu-

ment, is noticed by Dr. Dörpfeld in his supplemental chapter. The existence of open galleries in the outer wall of the fortress at Tiryns has long been known, but their purpose has been a matter of great doubt and discussion. To set this question at rest, if possible, the excavations of the present year were made to include a thorough clearing of these galleries, when it was discovered that several vaulted chambers, which, doubtless, served as store-rooms for the palace, are connected with each of them. The similarity of these galleries with their connecting chambers to those found in the walls of Byrsa, at Carthage, seems to Dr. Dörpfeld to be another indication that Phœnicians were the builders of the great walls of Tiryns.

A comparison, however, of the two will show at once that those of Byrsa are of later date than those at Tiryns, or, at least, that the architectural design is an *advance* upon the latter; and it is certainly no *impossibility* that the idea was borrowed from Tiryns by the builders of Byrsa. It is, by no means, necessary to conclude that the *same people* built both structures. If the Phœnicians built Byrsa it is not improbable that they had learned a useful lesson in architecture during some of their visits to Tiryns.

The writer does not presume to express an opinion as to the probable builders of the walls of Tiryns; he would simply point out what may prove to be some weak points in the argument for a Phœnician origin, as that argument is presented in Dr. Schliemann's book.

We turn next to the destruction of the ancient city. Common tradition places the date subsequent to the Persian wars, about 468 B.C.

It is said, by Pausanias, that both Mycenæ and Tiryns were destroyed by the Argives through jealousy. Both these cities had acquired some fame in consequence of having sent four hundred men to the battle of Platea, from which the Argives held back. Their names were afterward inscribed upon the pedestal of the golden tripod which the Spartans offered, as a tythe of the spoils, to the Pythian Apollo at Delphi—an ancient relic

which may still be seen at the Maïdan in Constantinople, and on which are found the names *Μυκᾶνες* and *Τιρύνθιοι*. The jealousy aroused by this circumstance is said to have led the Argives to expel these people from their territory and overthrow their cities.

Dr. Schliemann, however, quotes at length an argument, by Professor Mahaffy, which goes far toward proving that this popular tradition, depending largely upon the authority of Pausanias, is incorrect; at least he shows that there is a *strong probability* that the destruction of Tiryns and Mycenæ dates from a much earlier period.

In support of this quoted argument he also brings forward some strong evidence in the pottery and other relics recovered from the ruins of the city. At Mycenæ a piece of black lacquered Hellenic pottery was found upon which was an inscription known to be of the VI. century B.C. The most diligent search failed to bring to light a single fragment of this pottery in the palace of Tiryns. The vast quantities of terra cotta recovered were at least three centuries earlier in date than this black ware, which was in common use in the VI. century B.C. The ware, therefore, in common use at the time of the overthrow was not of later date than the IX. century B.C.

Again, the numerous images of Hera brought to light were in the form of a cow, or of a woman with cow-features and horns; but this manner of representing the goddess had passed away before the days of Homer, the only remnant remaining being the title *Βοώπις*. The images found in Tiryns were therefore decidedly *pre-Homeric*.

Again, the axes, knives, and arrow-heads of Obsidian, recovered from the palace, all of which were of a most ancient type, indicate that the inhabitants at the time of its destruction were several centuries behind the civilisation of the V. century B.C.

Another "find," which evidently does not belong to the original palace, is of some importance in determining the date of its destruction. This is an antique Doric

capital, which is the only thing belonging to a *stone* pillar discovered in the ruins; every indication points to the use of wood exclusively in that department of the structure. How this stone capital came there is somewhat of a mystery. There are, however, some indications that a Doric temple had been erected among the ruins of the upper citadel, and the characteristics of this capital, as well as some less important remains of the same material, point to a date not *later* than the V. century B.C.

These are some of the evidences which indicate a much earlier date than that commonly assigned for the destruction of the citadel of Tiryns. Dr. Schliemann finds that date at the time of the Doric invasion, or the return of the Heracleidæ, about 1100 B.C.

Let us now turn to a consideration of the ruins themselves. They occupy the lowest of several rocky hills rising out of the plain of Argos. To the southwest, at the foot of Mt. Pontinos, lies the marsh of Lerna, notorious for malaria and fevers, against which Dr. Schliemann found it necessary to fortify himself with a dose of four grains of quinine every morning before proceeding to his labor at the excavations.

Between two and three miles away toward the south lies the city of Nauplia, on the Argolic gulf.

The rock upon which Tiryns was built forms a ridge, running North and South, about 330 yards in length and 100 or more in breadth. The highest point, about 60 feet above the surrounding plain, is at the southern extremity, where the "upper citadel" was erected; at the northern and lower extremity lies the "lower citadel," and between the two, on a middle level, a section separated from each by a heavy wall. The whole was inclosed within one vast and continuous fortification. The "upper citadel," Dr. Schliemann believes, has never been rebuilt or occupied, except by the supposed ancient Doric temple and a later Byzantine church; but upon the lower portions a second city, if no more, has flourished and passed away.

The common tradition, to which we have already

referred, is that the walls of Tiryns were built for King Prbitos by seven Cyclops, whom he brought from Lycia for the purpose, their race being noted builders. They are composed of immense blocks of rough limestone, taken from a quarry not far away on the road to Nauplia.

It is probably owing to the size and roughness of these blocks that the walls have stood for so many centuries practically unharmed. The solidity of the structure, resting as it does upon the natural rock, prevented its overthrow from natural causes; and the roughness, as well as the size of the blocks, as Dr. Schliemann very justly observes, prevented later generations from carrying them away to build the less massive structures in other parts of the plain. It was easier to take the raw material from the original quarry.

Professor Adler says, in his preface, that he has himself measured stones in the lower walls from 9 to 10 feet in length, 4 to 5 feet in height, and extending into the wall, probably, an equal distance. Blocks like these, therefore, contain from 144 to 250 cubic feet of solid limestone. Dr. Schliemann gives the *average* size as above 6 feet in length by 3 in height. The mean thickness of the walls is 24 feet, the *greatest* 50 feet, and the estimated original height about 50 feet.

These general features of the outer walls have been well known for ages, as large portions of them have never been destroyed or hidden from view.

Dr. Schliemann has turned his attention chiefly to excavating the interior of the "upper citadel," which has never been considered worthy of any special attention. He thought otherwise, and the results of his labors show that he was right, always allowing that his conclusions therefrom are correct, and in this case there seems to be no good reason for doubting them.

These interior walls of the "upper citadel" he had taken for the house-walls of the inhabitants and foundations of temples, in his first partial examination in 1876. But after consideration upon their Cyclopean character, as seen in their lower courses, he was led to question

the correctness of this conclusion; a doubt which resulted in the recent thorough excavation of the entire "upper citadel."

These excavations have disclosed nearly the complete ground-plan of a prehistoric palace, a discovery which will materially change the ideas of archæologists in many important particulars in regard to the details of ruins previously examined; for at Troy, Mycenæ, and elsewhere, the remains of heavy walls within the citadel, belonging evidently to the most important building of the enclosure, have been regarded as the foundations of temples.

In Troy the different strata of débris were too confused, and in all former excavations the ruins have been found too imperfect in outline, to reveal very clearly the exact nature of the structures which they have supported; but in Tiryns the outline, in all important particulars, is so complete that it is no very difficult matter to recognise a royal palace, as described by Homer; for, although he never attempted to give a continuous, detailed description of such a structure, yet the *allusions* are so abundant, especially in the *Odyssey*, that scholars have felt justified in constructing from them a complete palace; each commentator, however, somewhat after his own private judgment and taste.

Many disputed points in these ideal structures will be practically settled by a careful study of these well-preserved ruins of the royal palace of Tiryns.

It must be remembered, however, that, although the ground-plan of the Palace can be plainly seen in most places, yet none of the walls are standing to a height exceeding about three feet from the floors, and in most cases only the lower course of stones remains in place. The character of the upper structure consequently remains largely a matter of conjecture, except that part of it which can be readily inferred from the great thresholds, which for the most part lie in their original position and, from the marks upon them, reveal the general character of the gates and doors, from the bases of pillars and pilasters, many of which are unharmed, and also from

the great mass of débris which covered the well-preserved floors of the various rooms to a depth of several feet.

Excavations, which were extended in some places below the floors of the original Palace, indicate that even this ancient building was erected over the ruins of a still earlier structure, the character of which has not been determined. This would agree with the tradition that an old settlement called Haleis occupied the rock before the citadel of Tiryns.

The current belief that there were two "grand entrances" to the fortress has been shown to be an error; but the excavations of the present year have laid bare a postern entrance for foot-passengers only, which leads by a long and winding stairway through the Western wall up to the "middle citadel," from which another stairway, discovered before, communicates with the Palace above. This newly discovered passage is vaulted for a part of the way, and then passes on between the massive walls of the fortress and those of the interior Palace; 65 steps at the lower end are still in place; above this it has entirely disappeared, so that even its point of termination is a matter of conjecture.

The single "grand entrance" to the fortress lies about midway in the Eastern wall; to this a ramp, about fifteen feet wide, embattled with large blocks of stone, leads up from the North along the outside of the fortress wall. The entrance, an open passage in the great wall, about eight feet wide, was protected by a tower on the North side. In approaching, therefore, an assailant was forced to expose to the defenders his right or unshielded side, a common device in ancient fortresses. This tower is still standing to a height of nearly 25 feet.

Within the great wall the way to the "upper citadel" rises still to the South, passing between the outer and the main palace wall.

About 50 feet from the entrance stood a massive folding gate, filling up the entire passage. The enormous stone threshold, nearly five feet broad by ten in length, still lies in its original position, and upon it are yet stand-

ing the great door-posts of breccia, more than four feet broad, three in depth, and ten in height. The gates were probably of wood, as evidences of their destruction by fire are plainly seen on the surrounding stonework.

Further on the way opens out into a large court, which occupies the Southeast corner of the fortress. On the Western side of this court stands the great Propylæum to the "upper citadel."

A break in the outer wall to the South of this open court led to the supposition that here had been a second grand entrance to the fortress; but the excavations of 1885, during which nearly the entire circuit of the outer wall was laid bare to the foundation, have shown that it was originally continuous in this place, with no opening by which to reach the plain below.

In the great Propylæum we recognise the *πρόθυρον* of Homer in the palace of Odysseus. An examination of its ground-plan, which is well preserved, shows that, in all important features, the ancient corresponds closely with the historical or modern Greek structure. The evidence here is not sufficient to indicate the exact details of the upper structure, but a comparison between the data furnished and the better known historical Propylæa will prove an interesting study to the architect. It was evidently constructed of wood, after the manner of temples *in antis*, and indicates the correctness of the theory that the later stone structures were developments of an older *wooden* model. In this place, also, the clearest evidence of an older building was discovered, in foundations still lying beneath the floor, which have no connection with the later structure.

The character of most of the buildings which surrounded the great court of the Palace, into which the Propylæum opened, could not be determined with any degree of certainty, since a land-slide on the West and the erection, in later years, of a Byzantine Church on the South, have obliterated all traces of their outline.

On the North side stood the south wall of the Palace, midway in which we find the *πρόθυρον τῆς αὐλῆς* of the

Homeric palace. This is substantially a reproduction, on a smaller scale, of the great Propylæum.

Beyond this we find ourselves in the outer court of the men's apartments, ἡ αὐλή mentioned by Homer. This is paved with a concrete of lime and pebbles which is well preserved. One of the chief objects of interest to be seen here is the great altar, corresponding to the familiar altar of Zeus in the palace of Odysseus. The excavations of 1885 revealed also a sacrificial pit in connection with this altar.

We come next to the most important part of the Palace, the *Men's Hall*, consisting of three parts: the vestibule (ἡ αἶθουσα δώματος), the ante-room (ὁ πρόδομος), and the Men's Hall proper (τὸ μέγαρον). The latter is an immense room, nearly forty feet long by thirty-two broad. The bases of four pillars, surrounding the large circular hearth in the middle of this room, show the means by which its great roof was supported, and afford a fruitful source for conjecture as to the architectural plan upon which this covering was constructed, and, in connection therewith, the manner in which light was obtained; since this hall was entirely surrounded by other apartments, it will be seen that the builders had somewhat of a problem to solve. We may readily perceive how it *could* be solved, but the data given, upon which to decide how it *was* solved, are so slight that we would not venture to express an opinion as to the correctness of the author's conjecture that the basilica form, or clerestory, was employed. The floor of this hall shows an attempt at artistic decoration. On the concrete may be plainly seen a pattern scratched in squares, with distinct traces of at least two colors, blue and red. The side walls were covered first with a coating of clay, then "faced" with good lime plaster, and decorated in colors.

The minute and careful description of this hall, with its ante-room and vestibule, given by Dr. Dörpfeld in chapter V., will repay careful study and comparison with Homeric allusions.

In connection with these apartments we find one noteworthy feature which must not be omitted from this

sketch. A genuine bath-room, connected with the men's hall by a corridor on the West. Over this remarkable discovery the author exclaims, in raptures :

Who could have imagined that we should ever find one of the rooms in which Homeric heroes actually bathed and anointed themselves !

But here it is, nevertheless. Its floor consists of one immense stone about 13 feet long by 10 in breadth, and averaging more than 2 feet in thickness. It is so dressed upon the upper side, with a raised rim around the entire circuit, that the bather had only to empty his tub upon the floor and the water disappeared through a channel cut in one corner, which connected, by a stone pipe in the wall with a box-drain of terra cotta outside. It was afterward found that this drain was but part of a *complete system of drainage*, running throughout the Palace.

Dr. Dörpfeld believes that they recovered a fragment of one of the bathing-tubs of terra cotta used in this bath-room. But the piece discovered forms such a small fraction of the *tub restored*, as shown in the colored plate, that we must confess to some doubt as to whether it might not have been, equally well, a fragment of almost *any other* vessel the imagination can picture.

There can be little doubt, however, about the bath-room itself. It would be a very difficult matter to account for its peculiar construction on any other hypothesis; nor can we doubt that even Homeric heroes found the advantage and necessity of such an apartment. This discovery is certainly one of the most interesting laid before us in the book.

To the East of the Men's Hall, *and entirely separated from it* (a fact which throws some light upon a disputed point in regard to the Homeric palace), we find the women's apartments. These consist of a court, vestibule, and main hall, but with no ante-room. They were constructed on the same general plan as the men's apartments, but on a smaller scale; and connected with them, in the northeast corner of the enclosure, we find the *θάλαμοι*, one of which was the treasure-room. Of these,

and all the minor rooms of the palace, the author gives a minute and interesting description in Chapter V.

A comparison of this brief outline with Homer's allusions to the Palace of Odysseus, will show that there is good ground for Dr. Schliemann's belief that he has laid bare the foundations of the Prehistoric Palace of the Kings of Tiryns.

The next important feature of these discoveries demanding notice is found in the materials used, and the manner in which they were prepared and put together. On all these points erroneous opinions have been current; in fact, the later developments of 1885 show that some of those expressed in the earlier chapters of this book itself are incorrect. Stone was, of course, the chief material employed, and three varieties are noticed. The hard limestone, which predominates, was cut from quarries on the road to Nauplia.

It has been commonly believed that the main walls of the fortress were built of blocks in the rough state in which they were dug from the quarry and laid up *without mortar*, the crevices between them being filled in with broken pieces of stone. The same statement is also made in the earlier parts of this book, though Prof. Adler, in his preface, ventures the conjecture that more careful examination will show

that in the construction of all so-called Cyclopean walls, a strong mortar of loam, or potter's clay, was used as bedding material, which facilitated the laying, etc. . . . but dried up afterward, and, by being gradually washed away, finally disappeared.

The excavations of 1885 proved the truth of this conjecture for, in the lower courses of the outer wall, distinct traces were found of a clay mortar mixed with straw. It was discovered also that, even in the heavier walls, some attempt had been made at "dressing" the immense blocks. One side, and sometimes more, was found to be rudely "faced" with a pick-hammer, while drill-holes in the sides of some, and down the corners of others, showed that many blocks had been split for "faces." This was done, undoubtedly, by driving plugs

of wood into the drill-holes, when the application of water would cause a sufficient swelling of the wood to rend the block.

The stones used for *antæ* blocks and pillar bases had been prepared by *sawing*, the usual curved lines made by a saw being plainly seen upon their faces. Sockets in the thresholds, for the pivots of the door-frames, and many of the dowel holes, had evidently been made with a hollow augur, as a round core was found still standing in the bottom of some. In cases, however, where the softer sandstone had been used, these holes had been cut out square with some other instrument.

The second variety of stone employed was breccia, a conglomerate of pebbles. It was found only in a few steps and pillar bases, and in the immense door-posts of the main gate, already described. Large beds of this conglomerate are found near Mycenæ, and it is supposed that they furnished the material used here.

A third variety was also found in the lower step to the vestibule of the Men's Hall and in a few *antæ* blocks of common sandstone; where it came from is uncertain; none is known to exist in the neighborhood of Tiryns.

Wood was used in the doors, door-posts, pillars, pilasters, wainscoting, and roofing timbers, and longitudinal beams were inserted in the side walls.

That a large quantity of this material entered into the original structure is evident from the distinct traces of an immense conflagration throughout every portion of the palace; the spaces left by longitudinal beams in the walls may still be seen; charred fragments of some of the pivots of the door-posts were found in their sockets; and wherever this theory would bring wood into contact with stone or brick, evidences of having been subjected to an intense heat are clearly seen; while for those parts of the building specified no trace of any other construction can be found. There is good reason to believe, therefore, that where Dr. Dörpfeld assumes wood to have been the material employed, his conjecture is correct.

The use of some metal as sheathing for the wood of the doors, wainscoting, etc., is also surmised. But as

no distinct evidence of its presence was discovered in the ruins, it may be concluded that this was not the case. Although it is not *impossible* that such metal may have been removed previous to the burning of the palace, yet it is to be considered whether, in so vast a structure, there must not have been left, even in that case, some slight vestiges of its former presence. Whereas the only relic of metal (used in the building itself) is a cap of bronze belonging to the pivot of a door-post. From this it is concluded that all these pivots were shod with a bronze cap, but other remains of metal there were none.

The employment of clay was also extensive. It was used in the floors, as a foundation for the lime concrete; on the side walls, to level the surface preparatory to receiving the facing of lime plaster; in mortar for the head walls; as a coating for the roof (?); and in sun-baked bricks, of which the upper part of the interior walls were constructed. These bricks contain straw, and as found are fire-baked; but Dr. Dörpfeld enters into an extensive and in most particulars satisfactory, argument to show that this was done, not in the original preparation of the material, but in the conflagration which destroyed the palace.

The discovery of another important material goes far toward settling the controversy as to whether the ancient Greeks had any knowledge of *lime*. It was found here in abundance and well preserved, both in the concrete pavement of the rooms and in the plaster "facing" of the side walls.

The "treatment" of these side walls next demands some notice. From the fragments of lime plaster recovered, it is evident that these primitive people had some knowledge and appreciation of decorative art; much more, doubtless, than is commonly believed.

The bulk of the fragments of plaster were taken from the débris with which the various rooms were filled. In many places small portions still adhered to the standing walls, but in only one place, on the walls of the woman's hall, had any trace of *color* been preserved. But this one piece was sufficiently extensive, not only to show

where the pieces of decorated plaster found in the *débris* belonged, but as well to give a fairly correct idea as to the *plan* of decoration.

From this it would appear that above a dado or wainscoting of stone or wood, about 2 feet in height, the plaster had been colored, in some instances "solid" and in others with elaborate figures and patterns. This decorated portion was in the form of a broad band running around the entire circuit of the walls.

Most of the fallen fragments found in the accumulated *débris* had lost all trace of color; but where pieces were found with their faces downward, and well covered beneath the *débris*, the colors remained in a fair state of preservation; in fact, a slight moistening served to bring them out with nearly their original brilliancy. Five colors only appear to have been used—black, white, yellow, blue, and red. No mixed or compound colors occur.

It is also evident that the method of application was free-hand, the outline having first been drawn with a pencil. On many pieces these pencil-marks are distinctly visible beneath the paint. Especially is this the case in the instance of what many will regard as the most remarkable of these recovered figures.

Seven separate pieces, when fitted together, are found to present nearly the complete figure of a bull, running at full speed, with a man evidently practising gymnastics upon his back. The entire figure is about 18 inches long and 12 in height. The figures are painted in white upon a back-ground of blue, and the shading is done in red with some lines in black. The artist had evidently made several attempts at "posing" his outline before he was satisfied with his "effects;" for enough of the final coloring has disappeared to reveal the presence beneath of several tails, with differing elegancies of curve, as well as numerous legs and hoofs. The minute and artistic description of this figure given in the book is worthy of special attention. We find it also reproduced in gold upon the outside cover of the volume.

The most important of these fragments of decorated

plaster are reproduced in 9 colored plates, and full descriptions of them will be found in the body of the work. One of the patterns illustrated corresponds very closely in design to the sculptured ceiling recovered from Orchomenos.

Another "find" connected with the treatment of the side walls is of great importance, since it practically decides one of the Homeric "discussions." In describing the Palace of Alkinoos, Homer speaks of a frieze of Kyanos (θριγρός κύανοιο). This κύανος has usually been interpreted "blue steel;" though some scholars, notably Lepsius and Helbig, hold that it was either the natural *lapis lazuli* or an artificial blue glass, choosing the latter as the material probably alluded to by Homer. This opinion is confirmed by an alabaster frieze found by Dr. Schliemann in the vestibule of the Men's Hall at Tiryns. It consists of several slabs of alabaster, constructed into a frieze on the plan of metopes and triglyphs. Parts of these are sufficiently well preserved to indicate the general design of the whole work. The important feature of the piece is the *blue glass*, or Kyanos, with which the figures are inlaid. Many of these pieces still remain in place, and in the "restored" plate which Dr. Dörpfeld lays before us we may perceive a companion to the Homeric frieze of Kyanos in the Palace of Alkinoos.

We would be glad to give a more particular description of many of the interesting relics recovered here, for the benefit of those readers of the REVIEW who may not meet with the book itself; but space forbids. We have already drawn out this article far beyond the limits of our original intention, and must bring it to a close with a brief survey of the pottery and images described by Dr. Schliemann in Chapters III. and IV. He distinguishes between the pottery found in the oldest débris and that belonging distinctively to the Palace of the Kings. That presented in Chapter III. was recovered from the very lowest strata, and is supposed to be the remains of the settlement of fishermen called Haleis which preceded the Palace and its Cyclopean walls.

The first class of pottery represented here is that of terra-cotta vases of rude workmanship, having excrescences at the sides, with *vertical* perforations, for the purpose of suspension.

In the *lowest* débris at *Troy* large numbers of this class were found, but elsewhere only a few specimens here and there in the very oldest ruins have been recovered. It is worthy of note, however, that the "finds" of this distinct class have been widely separated, scattered throughout nearly every country of Western Europe.

The query is naturally suggested, Did this prehistoric correspondence in works of art come from an independent, spontaneous development in races widely separated? or was there a more intimate connection than has yet come to light between these different parts of the ancient world?

Most of the pottery which Dr. Schliemann assigns to the older settlement is in a fragmentary state. Some is made of the coarsest clay, with pebbles protruding from the surface; other specimens had been dipped in a finer clay before baking and polished, from which they have received a lustrous red or black finish. Hand-made work predominates, yet some specimens were found which indicate that even these very earliest settlers on the rock of Tiryns had some practical knowledge of the potter's wheel. Little attempt at decoration is found on any, although some specimens are marked with white lines and spirals, and others have bands of clay ornaments moulded upon their outer surface. Every type discovered has its companion in *Troy*, *Mycenæ*, and other ancient ruins.

No remains of metals were found, but some of the stone relics have a polish, which Dr. Schliemann thinks could not have been obtained without the aid of bronze tools. In this class of objects are the polishing-stones used in finishing clay vessels, some of black or red marble and others of black granite. The knives of obsidian were symmetrical and double edged, similar to those found in *Troy*; but the arrow-heads were of a much ruder manufacture, like those of silex found in France

in the cave dwellings of the age of the Mammoth. From the chips and half-formed implements found in abundance, it is evident that these articles were manufactured upon the spot, but from raw material imported from other parts, no native obsidian having been found in the neighborhood of the Argolic plain.

Corn-bruísers of various stones, immense hammers without handles, and cone-shaped spinning-whorls of bluestone and terra-cotta were found in abundance, but are simply repetitions of the finds in Troy, Mycenæ, and other previous excavations.

The *absence* of the black lacquered Hellenic pottery from the Palace, and the argument for an earlier date for the destruction of the city which Dr. Schliemann bases thereon, has already been noted.

For convenience of consideration, the relics unearthed in the Palace are divided by the author into several distinct classes. The first, that decorated with geometric designs, he concludes could not have been of native manufacture, on account of its striking dissimilarity to the bulk of the "finds," both in the kind of clay of which it is composed and the manner in which it had been baked, as well as in the style of decoration. He believes it to be of Phœnician workmanship, and to have been imported into Tiryns by those omnipresent merchants.

In the head-cloth worn by many of the female figures with which these vases are adorned, we recognise the Homeric *καλύπτρη* or the *κρήδεμνον*, with which Penelope veiled her face when she appeared before the suitors.

Among the fragments of the second, third, and fourth classes, those decorated with glossy white figures, those with birds and stags, and those with marine animals, are many very interesting specimens which cannot be noted here. Evidence of very early Phœnician traffic is again found in the large class covered with spiral ornaments. The long list included in the miscellaneous class of terra-cotta relics must also be omitted, and a few words devoted to the idols.

Those described by Dr. Schliemann in Chapter IV.

are of two classes : First, the rudest kind of clay images, representing female figures, which belong to an antiquity far more remote than those found in Troy and Mycenæ. Their evident common use at the time the city was destroyed, and the great difference between them and the decorated pottery as works of art, would indicate a faithfulness to the traditions of their religion, even in the *form* of its idols, which is by no means peculiar to Tiryns.

The second class is the cow-idol, a representation of Hera, of which large numbers were found in all parts of the Palace. They have already been noticed in connection with the question of the date of the destruction of the city.

The later excavations of 1885 brought to light two other deities not mentioned in connection with the earlier "finds." One single specimen was unearthed of a terra-cotta image, representing a woman holding a bird upon her lap, which was undoubtedly intended for Aphrodite. A large number of images were also brought to light which represent a woman holding in her arms the animal sacred to Demeter—the pig.

In reference to the stone articles recovered, the most important of which have been mentioned in other connections, Dr. Schliemann very justly remarks :

If the primitive pottery described in the foregoing pages should not suffice to convince us that the Palace of Tiryns was destroyed in prehistoric times, we must yield to the additional evidence afforded by the countless knives and arrow-heads of obsidian.

However much we may differ from some of the conclusions put forth in this volume, it cannot be denied that a vast amount of valuable material is here presented for the consideration of Homeric scholars, and much which will materially alter current theories in regard to many of the details of the Iliad and the Odyssey.

There is not the opportunity for doubt in this case that exists in Dr. Schliemann's location of the site of ancient Troy. No question of this nature is involved ; he has simply laid bare the details of an acknowledged pre-

Homeric citadel and Royal Palace; and archæologists, as well as scholars in general, will not be slow to recognise the valuable service he has rendered classical scholarship, and to accord him the honor due to one who devotes his life and fortune, with no hope of recompense save that which is purely subjective, to the cause of knowledge and Classic Art.

SCOTT B. RATHBUN.

THE BOOK ANNEXED : ITS CRITICS AND ITS PROSPECTS.

I.

The Book Annexed to the Report of the Joint Committee on the Book of Common Prayer Appointed by the General Convention of 1880. Philadelphia : 1883.

Justification to the Dioceses of the Alterations and Additions in the Book of Common Prayer of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. Proposed in the General Convention of 1883, and to be acted upon at the General Convention of 1886.

The Book Annexed to the Report of the Joint Committee on the Book of Common Prayer, as Modified by the Action of the General Convention of 1883.

FIRST, last, and always this is to be said with respect to the revision of the American Common Prayer, that unless we can accomplish it with hearty good feeling, the attempt at improvement ought to be abandoned altogether.

The day has gone by when new formularies of worship could be imposed on an unwilling Church by edict, and although under our carefully guarded system of ecclesiastical legislation there is little danger of either haste or unfairness, we must bear it well in mind that nothing more than "a constitutional majority of both

houses" is needful if we would see liturgical revision crowned with real success. Of course absolute unanimity is not to be expected. Every improvement that the world has seen was greeted at its birth by a chorus of select voices sounding the familiar anthem, "The old is better;" and the generation of those, who, in the sturdy phrase of King James's revisers, "give liking unto nothing but what is framed by themselves, and hammered on their anvil" will be always with us. But substantial unanimity may exist, even when absolute unanimity is impossible, and if anything like as general a consent can be secured for revision in 1886 as was given to it in 1883, the friends of the movement will have good reason to be satisfied.

That there has been, since the publication of the "Book Annexed as Modified," a certain measure of reaction against the spirit of change must be evident to all who watch carefully the pulse of public opinion in the Church. Whether this reaction be as serious as some imagine, whether it have good reasons to allege, and whether it be not already giving tokens of spent force; are points which in the present paper will be touched only incidentally, for the writer's purpose is rather irenic than polemical, and he is more concerned to remove misapprehensions and allay fears than to seek the fading leaf of a controversial victory.

LIMITATIONS.

No estimate of the merits and demerits of the *Book Annexed* can be a just one that leaves out of account the limitations under which the framers of it did their work. These limitations were not unreasonable ones. It was right and proper that they should be imposed. There is no good ground for a belief that the time will ever come when a "blank cheque," to borrow Mr. Goschen's mercantile figure, will be given to any company of liturgical revisers to fill out as they may see fit. But the moulders of forms, in whatever department of plastic art their speciality lies, when challenged to show cause why their

work is deficient in symmetry or completeness, have an undoubted right to plead in reply the character of the conditions under which they labored. The present instance offers no exception to the general rule. In the first place, a distinct pledge was given in the House of Deputies, in 1880, before consent to the appointment of the Joint Committee was secured, that in case such permission to launch a movement in favor of revision as was asked for were to be granted, no attempt would be made seriously to change the Liturgy proper, namely, the Office of the Holy Communion.

The question was distinctly asked by a clerical deputy from the Diocese of Maryland,* Do you desire to modify the Office of the Holy Communion? and it was as distinctly answered by the mover of the resolution under which the Joint Committee was finally appointed, No, we do not. It is true that such a pledge, made by a single member of one House, could only measurably control the action of a Joint Committee in which both Houses were to be represented; but it is equally plain that the maker of the pledge was in honor bound to do all in his power to secure the observance of its terms.

Let this historical fact be noted by those who are disposed to complain that the Joint Committee did not pull to pieces and entirely rearrange the Anglo-Scoto-American Office, which now for a long time and until quite recently we have been taught to esteem the nearest possible approach to liturgical perfection.

Under this same head of "limitations" must be set down the following resolutions passed by the Joint Committee itself, at its first regular meeting:

Resolved, That this Committee asserts, at the outset, its conviction that no alteration should be made touching either statements or standards of doctrine in the Book of Common Prayer.

Resolved, That this Committee, in all its suggestions and acts, be guided by those principles of liturgical construction and ritual use which have guided the compilation and amendments of the Book of Common Prayer, and have made it what it is.

* The Rev. Dr. Orlando Hutton.

It was manifestly impossible, under resolutions like these, to depart very widely from established precedent, or in any serious measure to disturb the foundations of things.

The first of them shut out wholly the consideration of such questions as the reinstatement of the Athanasian Creed or the proposal to make optional the use of the word "regenerate" in the Baptismal Offices; while the other forbade the introduction of such sentimental and grotesque conceits as "An Office for the Blessing of Candles," "An Office for the Benediction of a Lifeboat," and "An Office for the Reconciliation of a Lapsed Cleric."*

Still another very serious limitation, and one especially unfriendly to that perfectness of contour which we naturally look to see in a liturgical formulary, grew out of the tender solicitude of the Committee for what may be called the vested rights of congregations. There was a strong reluctance to the cutting away even of what might seem to be dead wood, lest there should ensue, or be thought to ensue, the loss of something really valuable.

It was only as the result of much painstaking effort, and only at some sacrifice of literary fastidiousness, that the Committee was enabled to report a Book of which it could be said that, while it added much of possible enrichment, it took away almost nothing that had been in actual possession.† There could be no better illustration of this point than is afforded by certain of the alterations proposed to be made in the Order for Evening Prayer.

The Committee felt assured that upon no point was the judgment of the Church likely to be more unanimous than in approving the restoration to their time-honored home in the Evening Office of *Magnificat* and *Nunc dimittis*, and yet so unwilling were they to displace *Bonum est confiteri* and *Benedic anima mea* from positions

* *Priest's Prayer-Book*. Fifth edition, pp. 238, 243, 281.

† The *Prayer for Imprisoned Debtors* is believed to be the only formulary actually dropped.

they have only occupied since 1789, that they authorised the unquestionably clumsy expedient of printing three responds to each Lesson.

Probably a large majority of the Committee would have preferred to drop *Bonum est confiteri* and *Benedic anima mea* altogether, retaining *Cantate Domino* and *Deus misereatur* as the sole alternates to the two Gospel canticles, as in the English Book, but rather than have a thousand voices cry out, as it was believed they would cry out, "You have robbed us," the device of a second alternate was adopted, to the sad defacement of the printed page. It may be charged that in thus choosing the Committee betrayed timidity, and that a wise boldness would have been the better course; but if account be taken of the attitude consistently maintained by General Convention toward any proposition for the change of so much as a comma in the Prayer Book, during a period of fifty years prior to the introduction of the Book Annexed, it will perhaps be concluded that for the characterisation of the Committee's policy timidity is scarcely so proper a word as caution.

SPECIAL CRITICISMS.

(a) *Foreign.*

As there is reason to believe that opinion at home has been very considerably affected by foreign criticism of the *Book Annexed*, it will be well at this point to give some attention to what has been said in English journals in review of the work thus far accomplished. The more noteworthy of the foreign criticisms are those contained in *The Church Quarterly Review*, *The Church Times*, and *The Guardian*.*

The Church Quarterly reviewer opens with an expression of deep regret at "the failure to take advantage of the opportunity for reinstating the Athanasian Creed."

**The Church Quarterly Review* for April, 1884, and July, 1884. *The Church Times*, for August 29, 1884, also July 31, August 7, August 14, 21, 28, September 4, 1885. *The Guardian*, for July 20, 1885.

As already observed, no such opportunity existed. By formal vote the Joint Committee debarred itself from any proceeding of this sort, and the Convention, which sat in judgment on its work, was manifestly of opinion that in so acting the Committee had rightly interpreted its charter.

The reviewer, who is in full sympathy with the movement for enrichment, as such, goes on to recommend, as a more excellent way than that followed in the *Book Annexed*, the compilation of

an Appendix to the Book of Common Prayer to contain the much-needed *Additional Services* for both Sunday and other use in churches, in mission chapels, and in religious communities, as well as a full supply of *Occasional Prayers and Thanksgivings* for objects and purposes, missionary and otherwise, which are as yet entirely unrepresented in our Offices.

There are obvious reasons why this device should commend itself to an English Churchman, for it is unlikely that anything better than this, or, indeed, anything so satisfactory, could be secured by Act of Parliament.

For something very much better than this, however, a self-governed Church, like our own, has a right to look, and, in all probability, will look until the thing is found. An *Appendix* to a manual of worship, whether the manual be Prayer Book or Hymnal,* is and cannot but be, from the very nature of things, a blemish to the eye, an embarrassment to the hand, and a vexation to the spirit. Such *addenda* carry on their face the suggestion that they are makeshifts, postscripts, after-thoughts, and in their lack of dignity, as well as of convenience, pronounce their own condemnation.

Moreover, in our particular case, no "Appendix," "Prymer," or "Authorised Vade-mecum" could accomplish the ends that are most of all desired. Fancy putting the *Magnificat*, the *Nunc dimittis*, the Versicles that follow the Creed, and the "Lighten our darkness"

* Recall the "Additional Hymns" of 1868.

into an "Appendix." It would be the defeat of our main object.

Then, too, this is to be remembered, that in order to secure a "fully authorised Appendix," we, in this country, should be obliged to follow precisely the same legal process we follow in altering the Prayer Book. If an Occasional Office cannot pass the ordeal of the criticism of two successive Conventions, it ought not to be set forth at all; if it can and does stand that test, then it ought to be inserted in the Prayer Book, in the particular place where it most appropriately belongs, and may most readily be found.

Moreover, it should be remembered that one, and by no means the least efficient, of the causes that brought the Common Prayer into existence in the XVI. century was disgust at the multiplication of Service books. We American Churchmen have two already; let us beware of adding a third.

The critic of the *Quarterly* was probably unacquainted with the fact that in the American Episcopal Church the experimental setting forth of Offices "for optional and discretional use" is not possible under the terms of the Constitution. We either must adopt outright and for permanent use, or else peremptorily reject whatever is urged upon us in the name of liturgical improvement.

Entering next upon a detailed criticism of the contents of the *Book Annexed*, the writer proceeds to offer a number of suggestions, some of them of great value. He pleads earnestly and with real force for the restoration of the LORD'S Prayer to its "place of honor" between the Creed and the Preces, showing, in a passage of singular beauty, how the whole daily office "may be said to have grown out of, or radiated from, or been crystallised round the central *Pater noster*," even as "from the Words of Institution has grown the Christian Liturgy."

The critic has only praise for the amendments in the office for Thanksgiving-day, approves the selection of Proper Sentences for the opening of Morning and Evening Prayer, avers, certainly with truth, that the Office

of the Beatitudes might be improved, welcomes "the very full repertory of special prayers," thinks that the *Short Office of Prayer for Sundry Occasions* "certainly supplies a want," rejoices in the recognition of the Feast of the Transfiguration, and closes what is by far the most considerable, and, both as respects praise and blame, the most valuable of all the reviews that have been made of the *Book Annexed*, whether at home or abroad, with these words:

On the whole, we very heartily congratulate our Transatlantic brothers on the labors of their Joint Committee. We hope their recommendations may be adopted, and more in the same direction; and that the two or three serious blemishes which we have felt constrained to point out and to lament may be removed from the book in the form finally adopted.

And, further, we very earnestly trust that this work, which has been very evidently so carefully and conscientiously done, may speedily, by way of example and precedent, bear fruit in a like process of enrichment among ourselves.

Commending these last words to the consideration of those who take alarm at the suggestion of touching the Prayer Book lest we may hurt the susceptibilities of our "kin beyond sea," and unduly anticipate that "joint action of both Churches," which, at least until disestablishment comes, must always remain a sheer impossibility, we pass to a consideration of the six articles contributed to the *Church Times* in July and August last, under the title *The Revised American Prayer Book*. Here we come upon a writer who, if not always edifying, has the undoubted merit of being never dull. In fact, so deliciously are logical inconsequence and accidental humor mingled throughout his fifteen columns of discursive criticism that a suspicion arises as to the writer's nationality. It is doubtful whether any one born on the English side of the Channel could possibly have suggested the establishment of a Saint's Day in honor of the late respected Warden of Racine College, or seriously have proposed that Messrs. Oliver Wendell Holmes, Russell Lowell, Henry James, and W. D. Howells be appointed a jury of "literary

arbitrament," to sit in judgment on the liturgical language of the *Book Annexed*; and this out of respect to our proper national pride. Doubtless it would add perceptibly to the amused sense of the unfitness of things with which these eminent liberals must have seen themselves thus named, if permission could be given to the jury, when empanelled, to "co-opt" into its number Mr. Samuel Clemens and Mr. Dudley Warner.*

The general tenor of the writer in the *Church Times* may fairly be inferred from the following extract from the first article of the series :

The judgment that must be pronounced on the work, as a whole, is precisely that which has been passed on the Revised New Testament, that there are doubtless some few changes for the better, so obvious and so demanded beforehand by all educated opinion that to have neglected them would at once have stamped the revisers as blockheads and dunces ; but that the set-off in the way of petty and meddlesome changes for the worse, neglect of really desirable improvements, bad English, failure in the very matter of pure scholarship just where it was least to be expected, and general departure from the terms of the Commission assigned to them (notably by their introduction of confusion instead of flexibility into the services, so that the congregation can seldom know what is going to happen) has so entirely outweighed the merits of the work that it cannot possibly be adopted by the Church, and must be dismissed as a dismal fiasco, to be dealt with anew in some more adequate fashion.

This paragraph is not reproduced for the purpose of discrediting the writer of it as a judge of English prose, for there are various passages in the course of the six articles that would more readily lend themselves to such a use. The object in quoting it is simply to put the reader into possession, in a compact form, of the most

* This proposal of arbitration has occasioned so much innocent mirth, that, in justice to the maker of it, attention should be called to the ambiguity of the language in which it is couched. The wording of the passage is vague. It is just possible that by "the question" which he would be content to submit to the judgment of the four specified writers of fiction, he means, not, as he has been understood to mean, the whole subject-matter of the *Book Annexed*, but only the abstract question whether verbal variations from the English original of the Common Prayer be or be not, on grounds of purity of style, desirable. Even if this be all that he means, there is perhaps still room for a smile ; but, at all events, he ought to have the benefit of the doubt.

angry, even if not the most formidable, of the various indictments yet brought against the *Book Annexed*.

Moreover, the last words of the extract supply a good text for certain didactic remarks that ought to be made, with respect to what is possible and what is not possible in the line of liturgical revision in America.

Worthless as the result of the Joint Committee's labors has turned out to be, their motive, we are assured, was a good one. The critic's contention is not that the work they undertook is a work that ought not to be done, but rather that when done it should be better done. The revision as presented must be "dismissed as a dismal fiasco," but only dismissed "in order to be dealt with anew in some more adequate fashion." But on what ground can we rest this sanguine expectation of better things to come? Whence is to originate and how is to be appointed the commission of "experts" which is to give us at last the "Ideal Liturgy?"

Cardinal Newman in one of his lesser controversial tracts remarks :

If the English people lodge power in the many, not in the few, what wonder that its operation is round-about, clumsy, slow, intermittent, and disappointing? You cannot eat your cake and have it; you cannot be at once a self-governing nation and have a strong government.*

Similarly it may be said that, however great the difficulties that beset liturgical revision by legislative process, at the hands of some five hundred men, nevertheless, the fact remains that the body known in law as The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America has provided in its Constitution that change in its formularies shall be so effected and not otherwise. It may turn out that we must give up in despair the whole movement for a better adaptation of our manual of worship to the needs of our land and of our time; it may be found that the obstacles in the way are absolutely insuperable, but let us dream no dreams of seeing this thing handed

* Discussions and Arguments, p. 341.

over, "with power," to a "commission of experts," for that is something which will never come to pass.

Whether "experts" in liturgics are any more likely to furnish us with good prayers than "experts" in prosody are likely to give us the best poetry is a tempting question, but one that must be left, for the present, on one side. Perhaps, if the inquiry were to be pushed, we might find ourselves shut up to the curious conclusion that the framers of the very earliest liturgies, the authors of the old sacramentaries, were either verbally inspired or else were lacking in the qualifications which alone could fit them to do worthily the work they worthily did, for clearly "experts" they were not.

But the question that immediately concerns us is one of simple fact. Assuming the present laborious effort at betterment to have been proved a "fiasco," how is the General Convention to set in motion any more promising enginery of revision? "Summon in," say our English advisers, "competent scholars, and give them *carte blanche* to do what they will." But the Convention, which is by law the final arbiter, has no power to invite to a share in its councils men who have no constitutional right to a seat upon its floor. How thankfully should we welcome as participants in our debates and as allies in our legislation the eminent liturgical scholars who give lustre to the clergy list of the Church of England; but we are as powerless to make them members of the General Convention as we should be to force them into the House of Commons. The same holds true at home. If the several Dioceses fail to discover their own "inglorious Miltons," and will not send them up to General Convention, General Convention may, and doubtless does, lament the blindness of the constituencies, but it cannot correct their blunder. The Dioceses in which the "experts" canonically reside had had full warning that important liturgical interests were to be discussed and acted upon in the General Convention of 1883, why were the "experts" left at home? And if they were not returned in 1883, is there sufficient reason to believe that they will ever be returned in any

coming year of grace? It must be either that the American Church is bereft of "experts," or else that the constituencies, influenced possibly by the hard sense of the laity, have learned hopelessly to confound the "expert" with the doctrinaire.

Of "expert testimony," in the shape of the liturgical material, gathered mainly by English writers during the last fifty years, the Joint Committee had no lack. That this material was carefully sifted and conscientiously used, the *Book Annexed* will itself, one day, be acknowledged to be the sufficient evidence.

There is still another point that must be taken into account in this connection, to wit, the attitude which the Episcopate has a right to take with respect to any proposed work of liturgical revision. Bishops have probably become inured to the hard measure habitually dealt out to them in the columns of the *Church Times*, and are unlikely to allow charges of ignorance and incompetency so far to disturb their composure, as to make them afraid to prosecute a work which, from time immemorial, has been held to lie peculiarly within their province. It may be affirmed, with some confidence, that no revision of the American Office will ever be ratified in the conduct of which the Bishops of the Church have not been allowed the leadership which belongs to them of right. Then it is for the General Convention carefully to consider, whether any House of Bishops destined to be convened in our time, is likely to have on its roll, the names of any prelates more competent, whether on the score of learning or of practical experience, to deal with a work of liturgical revision than were the seven prelates elected by the free voice of their brethren to represent the Episcopal Order on the Joint Committee of Twenty-one.

Coming to details the reviewer of the *Church Times* regrets, first of all, the failure of the Convention to change the name of the Church. He goes on to express a disapproval, more or less qualified, of the discretionary power given to Bishops to set forth forms of prayer for special occasions, and of the continued permission to use Selections of Psalms instead of the Psalms for the day.

It is not quite clear whether he approves the expansion of the Table of Proper Psalms or not, though he thinks it "abstractedly desirable" that provision be made in his connection for "Corpus Christi and All Souls."

He condemns the latitude allowed in the choice of lessons under the rules of the new lectionary, fearing that a clergyman who happens to dislike any given chapter because of its contents, may be tempted habitually to suppress it by substituting another, but in the very next paragraph he gravely questions the expediency of limiting congregations to such hymns as have been "duly set forth and allowed by authority." Yet most observers, at least on this side of the water, are of opinion that liberty of choice within the limits of the Bible is a far safer freedom, so far as the breeding of heresy goes, than liberty of choice beyond the limits of the Hymnal has proved itself to be. The reviewer is pleased with the addition of the Feast of the Transfiguration to the Calendar, but desiderates more," and would gladly welcome the introduction into the Prayer Book of commemorations of ninety-nine saints, from Ignatius down,* but of this mention has already been made, and it is unnecessary to revert to it.

There follows next a protest against the selection of proper Sentences prefixed to Morning and Evening Prayer.

The revisers seem to have a glimmering of what was the right thing to do, . . . but they should have swept away the undecision and unliturgical plan of beginning with certain detached texts, which has no fitness whatever, and has never even seemed answer any useful end.

This is stronger language than most of us are likely to prove. A Church that directly takes issue with Rome, ours does, with respect to the true source of authority in religion, has an excellent reason for letting the voice of Holy Scripture sound the key-note of her daily worship, whether there be ancient precedent for such a use or not.

*The list might be brought down as late as the authorities pleased to bring it, and to include, if they chose, such names as John Keble, James De Koven, and Ferdinand Ewer."—*The Church Times* for August 14, 1885.

At the same time, the reviewer's averment that "the only proper opening is the Invocation of the Holy Trinity" is entitled to attention; and it is worth considering whether the latter portion of the nineteenth verse of the twenty-eighth chapter of S. Matthew's Gospel might not be advantageously added to the list of opening Sentences, for optional use.

In speaking of the new alternate to the Declaration of Absolution, the reviewer suggests most happily that it would be well to revive the form of mutual confession of priest and people found in the old service-books. This proposal would probably not be entertained in connection with the regular Orders for Morning and Evening Prayer, but room for such a feature might perhaps be found in some optional office.

After a grudging commendation of the steps taken in the *Book Annexed* to restore the Gospel Canticles, the reviewer next puts in a strong plea for a larger allowance of versicles and responses after the Creed, contending that this is "just one of the places where enrichment, much beyond that of replacing the English versicles and responses now missing, is feasible and easy," to which the answer is that we, who love these missing versicles, shall think ourselves fortunate if we succeed in regaining only so much as we have lost. Even this will be accomplished with difficulty. It is most interesting, however, to notice that this stout defender of all that is English, acknowledges the coupling together of the versicle "Give peace in our time, O LORD," and the response "Because there is none other that fighteth for us, but only thou, O GOD," to be "a very infelicitous *non-sequitur*." For correcting this palpable incongruity, the authors of the *Book Annexed* have been sharply criticised here at home. What were they that they should have presumed to disturb ancient Anglican precedent in such a point? If we could not understand why the God of battles, as the God of battles, should be implored to "give peace in our time," so much the worse for our intelligence.

But here comes the most acrid of all our critics, and

shows how the collocation of sentences in the English Book has, from the beginning, been due to a palpable blunder in condensing an office of the Sarum Breviary. Of the American substitute for this "unhappy response," the best he can say, however, is that it is "well-intentioned." Of the "Office of the Beatitudes", the reviewer declares that it "needs thorough recasting before it can stand," and in this we agree with him, as will hereafter appear, though wholly unable to concur in his sweeping condemnation in this connection of one of the most beautiful of Canon Bright's liturgical compositions, the Collect beginning, "O God, by whom the meek are guided in judgment and light riseth up in darkness for the godly." Of this exquisite piece of idiomatic English, the reviewer allows himself to speak as being "A very poor composition, defective in rhythm."

The criticism of the eucharistic portions of the *Book Annexed* is mainly in the line of complaint that more has not been added in the way of new collects and proper prefaces, but upon this point it is unnecessary to dwell, the reasons having been already given why the Joint Committee and the Convention left the liturgy proper almost untouched. Neither is there anything that specially calls for notice or serious reply in what is said about the Occasional Offices.

The Office for the Burial of Children is acknowledged to be a needed addition, but as it stands "is pitched in an entirely wrong key. The Cognate Offices in the 'Rituale Romanum' and the 'Priest's Prayer Book' ought to have shown the Committee, were it not for their peculiar unteachableness, a better way." To one who can read between the lines, this arraignment of the Americans for their lack of docility to the teachings of the "*Priest's Prayer Book*" is not devoid of drollery.

It will happily illustrate the peculiar difficulties that beset liturgical revision to close this *résumé* of the censures of the *Church Times* by printing, side by side, the reviewer's estimate of the changes proposed in the Confirmation Office and the independent judgment of a

learned evangelical divine of our own Church upon the same point.

The Confirmation Service, as one of the very poorest in the Anglican rites, stood particularly in need of amendment and enrichment, especially by the removal of the ambiguous word "confirm" applied to the acts of the candidates, whereby the erroneous opinion that they came merely to confirm and ratify their baptismal promises, and not to be confirmed and strengthened in virtue of something bestowed upon them, has gained currency.

Thus far the English Ritualist. Here follows the American Evangelical:

I still hope you will see your way clear to modify the present draft of the proposed Confirmation Office, as it gives a much higher Sacramentarian idea of it than the present, a concession which will greatly please the Sacerdotalists, to which they are by no means entitled.

The critic of *The Guardian* is a writer of different make, and entitled every way to the most respectful attention. His fault-finding, which is invariably courteous, is mainly confined to the deficiencies of the *Book Annexed*.

He would have had more done rather than less; but at the same time clearly points out that under the restrictions which controlled the Committee more could not fairly have been expected. He regrets that in restoring the lost portions of *Venite* and *Benedictus* the Convention did not make the use of the complete form in every case obligatory; and of the eight concluding verses of the latter canticle, which under the rubric of the *Book Annexed* are only obligatory during Advent, he says, "Imagine their omission on Christmas Day!"

To this criticism there are several answers, any one of which may be held to be sufficient. In the first place, it should be remembered that into the Committee's plan of enrichment there entered the element of differentiation. The closing portion of the *Venite* has a special appropriateness to Lent; the closing portion of the *Benedictus* a special appropriateness to Advent.

Moreover, if any congregations desire the whole of

these two canticles throughout the year, there is nothing in the rubrics of the *Book Annexed* to forbid such an enjoyment of them. They *may* be sung in full always; but only in Lent in the one case, and in Advent in the other, *must* they be so sung. The Revision Committee was informed, on what was considered the highest authority, that in the Church of England the *Benedictus*, on account of its length, had been very generally disused. But, however this may be, there can be little doubt that the effort after restoration would have failed completely in the late Convention, had the use of these two canticles in full been insisted upon by the promoters of revision.

There is less of verbal criticism in *The Guardian's* review than could have been wished, for any suggestions with respect to inaccuracies of style or rhythmical shortcomings would have been most welcome from the pen of so competent a censor. Attention is called to the unmusical flow of language in the alternative Confession provided for the Evening Office; the figurative features of the proposed Collect for Maundy-Thursday are characterised as infelicitous; and the Collect provided for the Feast of the Transfiguration is declared to be inferior to the corresponding one in the Sarum Breviary.

Of this sort of criticism, at the hands of men who know their craft, the *Book Annexed* cannot have too much. In fact, of such immeasurable importance is good English in this connection, that it would be no hardship were every separate clause of whatever formulary it may be proposed to engraft upon the Prayer-book to be subjected to the most searching tests.

Let an epoch be agreed upon, if necessary, that shall serve as the criterion of admissibility for words and phrases. Let it be decided, for instance, that no word that cannot prove an Elizabethan parentage, or, if this be too severe a standard, then no word of post-Caroline origin, shall be admitted within the sacred precincts. Probably there are words in the *Book Annexed* which such a canon would eject; but let us have them pointed out, and their merits and demerits discussed. Such

criticism would be of infinitely more value to the real interests of revision than those vague and general charges of "crudeness" and "want of finish" which it is always so easy to make and sometimes so difficult to illustrate.

The writer in *The Guardian* closes an only too brief commentary upon what the Convention has laid before the Church with the following words:

Many of the proposals now in question are excellent; but others will be improved by reconsideration in the light of fuller ritual study, such as will be seen to produce a more exact and cultured ritual *aloud*, perhaps we may, without offence, add, a more delicate appreciation of rhythm. What the *Book Annexed* presents to us in the way of emendation is, on the whole, good; but, if subjected to a deliberate recension, it would, we predict, become still better. If thus improved by the Convention of 1886, it might be finally adopted by the Convention of 1889.

This conspectus of English critical opinion would be incomplete were no account to be made of the utterances of the various writers and speakers who dealt with the general subject of liturgical revision at the recent Church Congress at Portsmouth.

The Book Annexed could scarcely ask a more complete justification than is supplied by these testimonies of men who at least may be supposed to be acquainted with the needs of the Church of England.

The following catena, made up from three of the four papers* read upon the Prayer Book, gives a fair notion of the general tone of the discussion. It will be worth any one's while to collate it with the thirty Resolutions that make up the *Notification to the Dioceses*.

"Can it be seriously doubted that there are requirements of this age which are not satisfied by the provision for public worship made in the sixteenth century? Can any really suppose that the compilers of that brief manual, the Prayer Book, however proud we may rightly be of their work, were so gifted with inspired foresight as to save the Church of future ages the responsibilities of considering and supplying the devotional wants of successive generations?"

* The paper read by the Dean of Worcester dealt exclusively with the legal aspects of the question as it concerns the Church of England.

Who has not felt the scantiness of holy association in our Sunday and week-day worship? . . . Much, I know, has been supplied by our hymnology, which has progressed nobly in proportion as the meagreness of our liturgical provision has been realised. But beyond hymns we need actual forms of service, which shall strike the ear and touch the heart by fresh and vivid adaptations of God's Word to the great mysteries of the Gospel faith. . . . After-services on Sunday evenings have of late grown common; for them we need also the aid of regular and elastic forms.

Most deplorably have we felt the need of intercessory services for Home and Foreign Missions; and, though there are beautiful metrical litanies which bear directly on these and other objects, yet these are not sufficient, and of course are limited to times when a good and strong choir can be secured; . . . and, further, we want very simple forms of prayer to accompany addresses given in homes and mission rooms.*

I declare it as my conviction, after many years of (I hope) a not indolent ministry, and of many opportunities of observation and experiment, that the Church stands in pressing and immediate need of a few rearrangements and adaptations of some of her Offices; also of an enormous number of supplementary Offices or services—some for frequent use, others for occasional purposes within the consecrated buildings; and that besides these there is need of a supply of special Offices for the use of a recognised lay agency outside of the church edifices.

Why limit our introductory sentences to seven deprecatory texts? . . . Why can we not introduce the anthem used on Easter-day, instead of the *Venite*, throughout the Octave; or at least on Easter Monday and Tuesday? Would not spiritual life be deepened and intensified, and, best of all, be strengthened, by the use in the same manner of a suitable anthem instead of the *Venite* on Advent Sundays, on Christmas-day, at Epiphany, on Ash-Wednesday, on Good Friday, during Rogation days, at Ascensiontide, and on harvest festivals and the special annual Church festival of the year?

I submit that an enrichment of the Book of Common Prayer is also required. For although, as already suggested, this may be provided to some extent by a Collect for occasional use before the final prayer of Morning Prayer or Evensong, the needs of the Church will not be fully supplied without some complete additional offices. Certainly an additional service for Sunday afternoon and evening. . . . The times are very solemn, and we must wait no longer. . . . We have talked for nearly twenty-five years—not vainly, I believe—but let us “go and do” not a little in the next five years. . . . Prove yourself to be of the Church of God, by doing all the work of the Church, and in the

* The Rev. Edgar Morris Dumbleton (Rector of S. James', Exeter).

proper way. Proclaim before our God by your actions and your activities, and by providing all that is needed, not only for churchmen, but for earnest Christians who are not churchmen, and for the poor, weary sinners who are living as if there were neither Church nor SAVIOUR, such services for the one, and such means for drawing the others to CHRIST, that they all may become one in Him. And for all this you must have (as I think):

1. Possibly a small rearrangement of existing services.
2. Variety and additions in some of these services.
3. Enrichment by many services supplementary.
4. Services for use by laymen.

I wish to alarm none, but I wish we were all astir, for there is no time to wait.*

I should like to suggest, if it seems desirable, as it does to me, to make any further variation from the original arrangement of Morning Prayer, that on such days as Easter-day, Whit-Sunday, and Ascension-day we should begin in a little different fashion than we do now.

Is it always needful to begin on such great days of rejoicing for Christians with the *same* sentences and the *same* Exhortation and Confession, and have to wait, so to speak, to give vent to our feelings till we reach the special Psalms for the day? Might we not on such days accept the glorious facts, and begin with some special and appropriate Psalm or anthem? . . . Thus we should at once get the great doctrine of the day, and be let to rejoice in it at the very outset, and then go on to the Lord's Prayer and the rest as we have it now. Confession of sin and absolution are not left out in the services of the day, as, of course, they occur in the Holy Communion; but leaving them out in the ordinary services, and beginning in the way suggested, would at one and the same time mark the day more clearly, and give opportunity for Christian gladness to show itself. . . . Only one other alteration would, I think, be needed, namely, that a good selection of Psalms be made, and used, as in the American Church, at the discretion of the minister. I think all must feel that for one reason or another all the Psalms are not adapted for the ordinary worship of a mixed congregation; and this plan would ease the minds of many clergy and laity. Also copying the American Church, it would be well to omit the Litany on Christmas-day, Easter-day, and Whit-Sunday.*

In the light of this summary of Anglican *desiderata*, compiled by wholly friendly hands, it is plain that whatever we may do in this country in the line of liturgical

* The Rev. George Venables (Hon. Canon of Norwich and Vicar of Great Yarmouth).

† The Rev. Arthur James Robinson (Rector of Whitechapel).

revision, always supposing it to be gravely and carefully done, instead of harming, ought marvellously to help the real interests of the Church of England. Certain principles of polity adopted in our own Church a century ago, and notably among them those affecting the legislative rights of the laity in matters ecclesiastical, are beginning to find tardy recognition in the England of the present. Possibly a hundred years hence, or sooner, a like change of mind may bring English Churchmen to the approval of liturgical methods which, even if not wholly consonant to the temper of the Act of Uniformity, have nevertheless been found useful and effective in the work of bringing the truth and the power of God to bear upon the common life of a great nation. The Church of England is to-day moving on toward changes and chances of which she sees enough already to alarm and not yet enough to reassure her. The dimness of uncertainty covers what may yet turn out to be the Mount of her Transfiguration, and she fears as she enters into the cloud. How shall we best and most wisely show our sympathy? By passing resolutions of condolence? By childish commiseration, the utterance of feigned lips, upon the approaching sorrows of disestablishment? Not thus at all, but rather by a courageous and well-considered pioneering work, which shall have it for its purpose to feel the ground and blaze the path which presently she and we may find ourselves treading in company. Tied as she is, for her an undertaking of this sort is impossible. We can show her no greater kindness than by entering upon it of our own motion and alone.

(b) *American.*

Criticism at home has been abundant; much of it intelligent and helpful, and by no means so much of it as might have been expected captious. Of what may be called official reviews there have been three, one from the Diocese of Central New York, one from the Diocese of Wisconsin, and one from the Diocese of Easton. It is understood that committees of still other diocesan con-

ventions and councils have similar reviews in preparation. The subject has also been dealt with in carefully-prepared essays published from time to time in *THE CHURCH REVIEW* and *The Church Eclectic*, while in the case of the weekly journals the treatment of the topic has been so frequent and so full that a mere catalogue of the editorial articles and contributed communications in which, during the two years last past, liturgical revision has been discussed would overtax the limits of the present paper.

The only practicable means of dealing with this mass of criticism is to adopt the inductive method, and to seek to draw out from the utterances of these "many voices" the four or five distinct concepts that severally lie behind them.

In limine, however, let this be said, that the broadest generalisation of all is one to which the very discordance of the critics bears the best possible witness. Of a scheme of revision against which is pressed, in Virginia,* the charge of Mariolatry; in Ohio,† the charge of Latitudinarianism; and in Wisconsin,‡ the charge of Puritanic pravity, this much may at least be said, that it possesses the note of fairness. From henceforth suggestions of partisan bias are clearly out of order.

The Anglo-Catholic censures of the *Book Annexed* are substantially summed up in the charge that due regard is not had, in the changes proposed, to the structural principles of liturgical science. In the exceedingly well-written if somewhat one-sided document already referred to as the Wisconsin Report, this is, throughout, the burden of the complaint. The accomplished author of the Report, than whom no one of the critics at home or abroad has shown a keener or a better cultivated liturgical instinct, is afraid that a free use of all the liberties permitted by the new rubrics of the daily offices would so revolutionise Morning and Evening Prayer as practically to ob-

* See letter of "J. L. W." in *The Southern Churchman* for August 6, 1885.

† See letter of "Ritualist" in *The Standard of the Cross* for July 2, 1885.

‡ See the Report of the Committee of the Council of the Diocese of Wisconsin, *passim*.

rate the line of their descent from the old monastic *ms.* If there were valid ground for such an expectation the alarm might be justifiable, but is there? The practical effect of the rubrics that make for abbreviation will be to give us back, on week-days almost exactly, and with measurable precision on Sundays also, the Matins and Evensong of the First Book of Edward VI. Surely this is not the destruction of continuity with the pre-Reformation Church.

In his dislike of the provision for grafting the Beatitudes upon the Evening Prayer, the author of the Wisconsin Report will find many to agree with him, the present writer among them; but in his fear that in the introduction of the Proem to the Song of the Three Children, as a possible respond to the First Lesson, there lurks a covert design to dethrone the *Te Deum*, he will have few sympathisers save such as may be recruited from the ranks of professional alarmists.*

But, after all, may not this scrupulous regard for the precedents set us in the old service-books be carried too far? It is wholesome, but there is a limit to the whole-mindedness of it. We remember who it was that made room for the sake of "a scientific frontier." Some of the scientific frontiers in the region of liturgics are as sorry as his was. For example, the *Book Annexed* may be "unscientific" in drawing as largely as it does on the language of the Apocalypse for versicles and responses. There has certainly been a departure from Anglican precedent in this regard. And yet it would scarcely seem that we could go far astray in borrowing from the liturgy of Heaven, whether there be earthly precedent or not.

Dranmer and his associates made a far bolder break

The evident intention of the Joint Committee in the introduction of this canticle was to make it possible to shorten the Morning Prayer on week-days, without spoiling the structure of the office, as is now often done, by leaving out one of the Lessons.

It is certainly open to question whether a better alternate might not have been provided, but it is surprising to find so accomplished a scholar as the Wisconsin critic speaking of the *Benedictus es Domine* as a liturgical novelty, "derived neither from Anglican or the more ancient service-books." As a matter of fact the *Benedictus Domine* was sung daily in the Ambrosian Rite at Matins, and is found also in the Mozarabic Breviary.

with the old office-books than the *Book Annexed* makes with the Standard Common Prayer. The statement of the Wisconsin Report, that "The Reformers of the English Church did not venture to write new Offices of Prayer," must be taken with qualifications. They did not make offices absolutely *de novo*, but they did condense and combine old offices in a manner that practically made a new thing of them. They took the monastic services and courageously remoulded them into a form suitable for the new era in which monasteries were to exist no longer.

Happily, they were so thorough in their work that comparatively little change is called for in adapting what they fitted to the needs of the XIV. century to the more varied requirements of the XIX. Still, when they are quoted as conservatives, and we are referred for evidence of their dislike of change to that particular paragraph of the Preface to the English Prayer Book entitled *Concerning the Service of the Church*,* it is worth our while to follow up the reference and see what is actually there said. The Wisconsin Committee use very soft words in speaking of the mediæval perversions and corruptions of Divine Service. "It was in the monasteries chiefly," they tell us, "that these services received the embellishments and wonderful variety which we find in the later centuries." But the following is the cruel manner in which in the English Preface, cited as authority the "embellishment" and "wonderful variety" are characterised:

But these many years past, this godly and ancient order of the ancient fathers hath been so altered, broken, and neglected, by planting in uncertain stories, and legends, with multitudes of responses, verses, vain repetitions, commemorations, and synodals, that commonly when any book of the Bible was begun, after three or four chapters were read out all the rest were unread.

. . . And furthermore, notwithstanding that the ancient Fathers have divided the Psalms into seven portions, whereof every one was called a Nocturn, now of late time a few of them have been daily said and the rest utterly omitted. . . . So

* See Wisconsin Report, p. 5.

ere you have an Order for Prayer and for the reading of the Scripture much agreeable to the mind and purposes of the others, and a great deal more profitable and commodious hat which of late was used.

is is conservatism in the very best sense, for the t aimed at is plainly the conservation of purity, licity, and truth, but surely it is not the conservatism en with whom inaction is the only wisdom and im- lity the sole beatitude.

e change our sky completely in passing from Anglo- olic to Broad Church criticism of the *Book An- z*. This last has, in the main, addressed itself to ubrical features of the proposed revision. "You ised us 'flexibility,'" the accusation runs, "but you are really giving us is simply rigidity under w form. Let things stay as they are, and we will rtake to find all the 'flexibility' we care to have out help from legislation."

is criticism has at least the merit of intelligibility, directly antagonises what was, without doubt, one purpose with the revisers, namely, that of reviving ct for the rubrics by making compliance with their ; a more practicable thing.

idently what Broad Churchmen, or at least a sec- of them, would prefer is the prevalence of a general ent under which it shall be taken for granted that es are not literally binding on the minister, but are : stretched and adapted, at the discretion of the ant, as the exigencies of times and seasons may est. It is urged that such a common understand- ready in great measure exists; and that to enact rubrics now, or to remodel old ones, would look an attempt to revivify a principle of compliance i we have tacitly agreed to consider dead.

e answer to this argument is not far to seek. If Church means to allow the Common Prayer, which rto has been regarded as a liturgy, to lapse into the s of a directory; if, in other words, she is con- o see her manual of worship altered from a book of ctions as to how Divine Service *shall* be performed

into a book of suggestions as to how it *may* be rendered, the change ought to be officially and definitely announced, and not left to individual inference or uncertain conjecture. We are rapidly slipping into a position scarcely consistent with either the dignity or the honor of a great Church—that of seeming to be what we are not. To give it out to the public that we are a law-respecting communion, and then to whisper it about among ourselves that our laws bind only those who choose to be bound by them, may serve as a convenient device for “tiding over” a present difficulty, but is, on the whole, a course of procedure more likely to harden than to relieve tender consciences.

Take, by way of illustration, the case of a city Clergyman who would gladly introduce into his parish the usage of daily service, but who is convinced, whether rightly or wrongly, that to secure even a fair attendance of worshippers, he ought to have the liberty of so far condensing the Morning or the Evening Office as to bring it within the limits of a quarter of an hour. He seeks relief through the lawful channel of rubrical revision, and is only laughed at for his pains. In this busy XIX century it is nonsense, he is assured, to spend a dozen years in besieging so obdurate a fortress as the General Convention. The way to secure “shortened services” is to shorten services. This is easy logic, and applicable in more directions than one. Only see how smoothly it runs;—If you want hymns that are not in the Hymnal, print them. If you want a confessional-box, set it up. If you want a “reserved sacrament,” order the carpenter to make a tabernacle and the locksmith to provide a bolt.* This is a far less troublesome method of securing the ends desired than the tedious and roundabout process of proposing a change at one meeting of the General Convention, having your proposal knocked about among some forty or fifty dioceses, and brought up for final action three years later.

* See the precautions recommended in *The Living Church Annual* for 1886, p. 132, Art. *Tabernacle*.

And yet, superior as the former method may be to the latter in point of celerity and directness, the latter has certain advantages over the former that ought to be evident to men who are not frightened by having their scrupulousness called scrupulosity.

Moreover, why should this whole matter be discussed, as so commonly it is discussed, wholly from the clerical side? Have the laity no rights in the liturgy which the clergy are bound to respect? When and where did the Protestant Episcopal Church confer on its ministers a general dispensing power over the ordinances of worship which it withheld from the body of the faithful?

Heretofore it has been held that when a layman went to church he had a right to expect certain things guaranteed him by the Church's law. If all this has been changed, then formal notice ought to be served upon us by the General Convention that such is the fact.

THE MOTIVE OF THE EFFORT AFTER REVISION.

It is asked, and with no little show of plausibility, Why—in the face of such manifold hostility and such persistent opposition, why press the movement for revision any further? Is it worth while to divide public sentiment in the Church upon a question that looks to many to be scarcely more than a literary one? Why not drop the whole thing, and let it fall into the limbo, where lie already the *Proposed Book* and the *Memorial Papers*? For this reason, and it is sufficient: There has arisen in America a movement toward Christian unity the like of which has not been seen since the country was settled. It is the confident belief of many that the key to the situation lies with that Church which more truly than any other may be said to represent the historical Christianity of the peoples of English stock. One of the elements in this larger movement is the question of the form of worship. The chief significance of the *Book Annexed* lies in the claim made for it by its friends, that more adequately than the present Standard it supplies what

may fairly be demanded as their manual of worship by a people circumstanced like ours. While, in one sense, more English than the present book, in that it restores liturgical treasures lost at the Revolution, it is also more thoroughly American, in that it recognises and allows for many needs which the newly-enfranchised colonists of 1789 could not have been expected to foresee.

The question is, Shall we turn a cold shoulder on the movement Churchward of our non-Anglican brethren of the reformed faith, doing our best to chill their approaches with a hard *Non possumus*, or shall we go out to meet them with words of welcome on our lips? Union under the "Latin obedience" is impossible. For us, in the face of the decrees of 1870, there can be "no peace with Rome." The Greeks are a good way off. Our true "solidarity," if "solidarity" is to be achieved at all, is not with Celts, but with our own kith and kin, the children of the Reformation. Is it wise of us to say to these fellow Christians of ours, adherents of the Catholic Faith as well as we, "Nay, but the nearer you draw to us the farther we mean to draw away from you; the more closely you approximate to Anglican religion, the more closely shall we, for the sake of differencing ourselves from you, approximate to Vatican religion?"

In better harmony with the Apostolic temper, in truer continuity with the early Churchmanship, should we be found, were we to join voices thus:

V. Come ye, and let us walk in the light of the LORD.

B. And He will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths.

WILLIAM REED HUNTINGTON.

BISHOP PERRY'S HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

The History of the American Episcopal Church, 1587—1885. By WILLIAM STEVENS PERRY, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of Iowa. Projected by CLARENCE F. JEWETT. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1885.

It is perhaps a fair matter of discussion, whether the plan upon which this REVIEW is at present conducted an improvement upon the plan which in former times is customary. In most particulars, no doubt, the one of the periodical in which these words appear is better now than ever it was, not to say better than that others which might be named. But in regard to the custom of having every article in the REVIEW appear under the proper signature of its author, instead of under the ponderous impersonality of an editor, it may be doubted whether it is entirely advantageous. It professes to secure immunity from undue and provoking personalities, and to furnish a certain safeguard against error by making every writer responsible for what he writes. Perhaps it does. But these and other advantages are counterbalanced by the disadvantage that, after all, whatever is said is nothing but individual opinion. When an editor speaks as editor, without the savour of personal existence, he is a truly awful entity. His condemnation is withering. His approval worth having. But when an editor resolves himself into H. M. B., or J. S., or abdicates the throne of his sovereignty in favor of Dr. S. or Mr. P., he is no longer an arbiter of literary destinies; no longer the director of public opinion, but only takes his place on the floor

among a number of disputants, and become in the eyes of the reader a more or less commonplace individual, with whom the reader presumes to agree or disagree quite at his own pleasure. Such presumption in old times was rare indeed. Even the author was fain to succumb under the adverse editorial judgment; and to pass the criticism of the reviews was an ordeal of life and death to a book. What review stops the sale of a book now? The most scathing criticism, the most thorough riddling that a book can have, resolves itself in its last analysis into the individual opinion of the writer. And then, if personality in the way of satire and recrimination is lessened, personality in the way of egotism stands a fair chance of being largely increased. And in fact the tendency of book reviews appears to be now strongly toward a liberal airing of the writer's views on various matters, more or less remotely connected with the subject of the volume under review, with a comparatively limited exhibition of the author's mind.

After a prelude of this sort I presume the reader may be anticipating a somewhat egotistical treatment of the present theme. Perhaps he will not be disappointed. And yet, since what is said with reference to the volumes under consideration, is written under the persuasion that it will be regarded as nothing better than the opinion of the writer, this circumstance will possibly prove some protection to the reader. On the other hand, since private opinion is always liable to be affected by personal influences to which the pure editorial mind cannot be imagined to be subjected, it may be no more than proper frankness to confess that, in the present case, the writer's judgment has been subjected to so severe a strain as to make it likely that he would be an unfavorable critic; and to warn the reader accordingly, that he should be on his guard against too readily accepting conclusions which have been drawn by a prejudiced mind. It is not necessary to relate the fable of the fox and the grapes, in order to illustrate the feelings of one who was to have been embalmed in history along with

the distinguished writers of the monographs, which make up a large portion of these volumes, but who, on examination of them, finds himself abandoned to the oblivion proper to his own natural obscurity. Let me rather state, without parable, that, having, on the invitation of the author of these volumes, prepared, with some four weeks of labor, a paper which was by courtesy to have been called a monograph; and having given my best endeavors to the construction of a suitable autograph, with which the paper, after the manner of all genuine manufactures, was, according to the taste of the publishers I presume, to have been labelled, I reposed in a fond assurance that my place in history was secure. But when I looked for myself in this Ecclesiastical Kingdom, which, out of deference to the wish of the author, I had undertaken to review—Alas! Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and almost every other person from the four points of the compass sat there; and I myself was clean thrust out.* What could be expected in the way of unprejudiced criticism from a reviewer under such circumstances as these! Doubtless it will be safe for me to avoid criticism, and to confine myself to what, after all, is the proper province of a personal reviewer, and endeavor to convey to those to whom these pages may come, and who may not have had opportunity to see the book itself, some idea of what it contains. Such disagreeable remarks as I may, by the way, be betrayed into making, will readily be attributed by the discriminating reader to their true cause.

The conventional treatment of the matter in hand requires some attention to be paid to the outside of the book to be described. The conventional phrase, that the elegance of the volumes is such as might be expected from the reputation of the publishers, I cheerfully adopt. But since that, like some other conventional phrases, is both equivocal and vague, it may be well to add that the book consists of two large volumes, each

* Dr. Seabury's monograph and several others, by Bishop Stevens, the Rev. John Henry Hopkins, D.D., the Rev. Wm. M. Beaucamp, and the Rev. J. A. Gillman, have been published in the *CHURCH REVIEW*.—ED.

of which measures eleven inches in length, by eight in width, and two in thickness, and weighs between five and six pounds. The type in which the books are printed is such as to be a comfort to a man whose sight is not as good as it used to be, and the printed page is enshrined in a princely margin of two inches in width. Altogether the volumes are such as to be well suited for a handsome library—a library such as might belong to a wealthy man who desired to have his shelves supplied with authors so clothed as to be presentable among well-dressed people, and who would be willing to leave the selection of his books to his house furnisher. Such a man, if he ever desired to peruse the contents of the book, could afford to have a muscular valet to lift it down for him, and hold it up for inspection, and to him, therefore, the weight of the book would be no disadvantage. But persons of meaner resources, who may want a book for the purpose of reading it, will sigh for a future edition which will be more portable. Such externals are, of course, very much matters of taste, about which readers, authors, and publishers, not to say reviewers, may differ; but it might be worth the consideration of an enterprising publisher, whether it would not be a good plan, instead of making two such volumes of a book like this, to make three volumes, two of which might contain the printed matter, and the third the margins.

Most books are born of authors and publishers, with, perhaps, the nursing aid of editors, or translators; but more than ordinary parentage was required to bring this book into the world. It was not only written and printed, but likewise projected: "PROJECTED BY CLARENCE F. JEWETT." Projection appears to be a new departure in literature; and the term is presumed to refer in the present instance, not to any use of the volumes by Mr. Jewett after their publication, nor to his method of dealing with surplus monographs, but to the original conception of the idea which resulted in the production of the work.

The work is with great propriety respectfully inscribed

o the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Primus of the Scottish Church, and the Presiding Bishop of the Church in this country. The need of the work is indicated by the fact stated in the preface, that the only accessible history of the Church in these United States, as a whole, is the summary of our annals written nearly half a century ago, by the celebrated Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford and of Winchester, although many works have been written giving the history of the Church in various localities and periods. Acknowledgment is made of good work done in this kind, especially by the late Rev. Dr. Hawks, the first historiographer of the Church, in his history of the Church in Virginia and Maryland, and by the same learned writer in connection with his colleague and successor in the position of historiographer, the author of the present volumes, in the compilation of the Documentary History of the Church in Connecticut and other Colonies ; and also by the venerable Bishop White in the preparation of his invaluable Memoirs of the Church. The work is composed partly of a general history written by Bishop Perry, and partly of historical sketches, called monographs. Bishop Perry's function, therefore, appears to have been twofold : first, to write the history of the Church in this country, from the time of its first planting to the year 1883 ; and secondly, to edit the papers prepared in illustration of the history of particular periods and institutions. Why the history is marked as done " by the Editor," unless it be that he did not wish to lessen the force of the projection already mentioned, does not appear. There seems no reason why Bishop Perry should not be regarded as the author of the general history which the volumes contain, yet in both volumes this part of the work is attributed to the Editor. The meaning, it is to be presumed, is that the general historical parts of the book were written by the same person who edited the special papers ; but it seems more natural that the writer of the history should be called the Author, and that the Editorial function could be regarded as an appendage to that of authorship.

In the first volume of this work the author treats of the planting and growth of the American Colonial Church; and in the second volume he treats of the organisation and progress of the American Church. The first volume has twenty-four chapters, and, more or less directly illustrative of the subjects of these, eight monographs. The second volume contains twenty-five chapters and eleven monographs; some of these monographs in both volumes being composed of several other monographs—wheels within wheels. The proportion of the auctorial to the editorial is, in the first volume, as 468 to 197; and, in the second volume, as 382 to 268—that is, in the matter of pages; and both the history and the monographs are printed in the same clear and handsome style. In each of the various chapters the author treats the subject of the chapter in the manner of narrative, constantly referring to sources of information, and frequently setting forth at length the text of important letters and papers; and then, in addition to this account of his subject, he appends to each chapter several pages, entitled, as the case may be, “critical notes and illustrations;” “critical notes on the sources of information;” “notes, critical and biographical,” etc.; these appendices being in somewhat smaller type than the text, but very clear and readable. This closing up of the subject of each chapter with a minute consideration of the authorities bearing upon it, making each chapter a little book with its own appendix, is an excellent help to the mastery of the contents of the work, and greatly facilitates references to it. This and many other characteristics of the work demonstrate the substantial advantages to every author of having a good projector. Certainly no one should ever write another history without having it properly projected; and, if no man be fit to be a judge in his own case, how should he be trusted to do his own projecting.

In this connection, and still commenting upon the superficial contents of this work, it cannot be amiss to refer to the wealth of illustration which characterises it. It is not only adorned with illustrations, but swarms with

them. It is a collection at once of historical portraits; of family arms and corporate seals; of autographs; of facsimiles; of maps; of exteriors and interiors of churches and other buildings; and even of things portable. That this treatment of the subject adds inestimably to the value and interest of the work need not be said. And as these illustrations are of the best possible character, as well as of the widest range, they leave hardly anything to be desired in this kind.

It would be ungrateful not to acknowledge with admiration the facilities for examination of the several parts of this work furnished both by the analysis of the chapters in the beginning and the index at the end, which latter appears to be a marvel of industrious precision. But why particularise the index, when this is the character of the whole work. The book is a monument of learning in its own department; of laborious industry; of endless research, and patient investigation; of calmness, impartiality, and good temper; of trustworthiness in regard to facts; and of elegance of style. The knowledge not only of events, but of the books, papers, pamphlets, and periodicals containing contemporaneous accounts of these events; the readiness of remembrance of these in order to reference and quotation; the labor of unearthing, gathering, assorting, examining, and copying such material; the familiarity with the secular history corresponding to the ecclesiastical; the grasp of the whole of the immense field before the author, and the minute attention to the smallest detail in it; the correspondence with the living, added to the handling and understanding of the literary remains of the dead—if one can form any idea of what is involved in these, he may be able to appreciate what the author has done. Without some experience of this kind of work, it will be impossible for any one to conceive of the ability which the author has shown in the construction of this book. To say that the work has been produced in less than three years, by a Bishop who presides over a Diocese of the extent of 51,000 square miles, and who not only presides over it, but attends to it as well, and who is as thor-

oughly involved in all the resultant cares and labors of the Episcopate as is any of his brethren, is to say what can but increase the admiration with which one beholds this fruit of his literary labors. It is not of course to be imagined, that the time within which this work has been produced, includes the time unconsciously devoted by the author to his previous preparation for it. But this does not detract from the honor due to his ability ; and, on the other hand, should increase our appreciation of his fitness for the task imposed upon him. It is not every man who, when called to give public proof of the extent and thoroughness of even his favorite studies, could furnish such satisfactory evidence. The author has been long known to the Church as officially its Historiographer, as personally devoted to the interests of American Church History, and as a diligent explorer and collector of all material bearing upon it. All this he might be with very superficial knowledge ; but this book shows that he has not only found and collected, but that he has also absorbed and assimilated what he has gathered. That his treatment of all the various matters referred to in this book is, in each case, what it should be, it is not necessary to say ; and probably would be true of no author if it were said. But this author certainly treats his whole subject in all its details with caution, candor, and a proper sense of responsibility ; and, besides, furnishes the reader constantly with the opportunity of verifying his statements, and of drawing, from the same evidence which he has adduced, either the same or a different conclusion, as his own judgment may direct him. Almost any chapter in the book will suggest something of the labors of the author in respect to the consultation of authorities. The first chapter, taken for convenience, shows, in a space of fourteen and a half pages, of which about five may fairly be allowed for portraits and autographs, twenty-one references. And then, as to such matters as autographs, portraits, seals, arms, etc., all of which look very pretty on a printed page, and seem to the unreflecting reader as if they had grown there, like wild flowers by the roadside, without anybody's exertion

—the trouble of getting them together in any great number, and the time consumed in the effort, are not to be estimated.

The difficulty of finding an extant descendant or collateral relative of some defunct notability of one, two, or three centuries ago, and of inducing such an one when found to part with some heirloom of his in the way of a portrait or book-plate long enough to have it copied, it is not easy to describe. It is a labor even to think of the envelopes that must have been directed, and the stamps that may have been tasted, not to speak of the letters written and read, and the personal interviews experienced, in order to the end attained by the author in this respect.

The plantation and growth of the American Colonial Church forms, as has been said, the author's theme for the first volume of his work. In his treatment of this theme he gives an account of the several steps in the discovery and settlement of the Western continent by English voyagers, under the auspices of English patrons, and claims that in the process of colonisation the Church went hand in hand with the State, the Cross being planted in newly acquired possessions with the arms of England at its foot. In support of this claim the author goes patiently through the various voyages and plantations, laying hold of every evidence which the narratives supply of the presence of English Clergymen as chaplains, and of the use of the *Book of Common Prayer*; and, in the course of his record, he states many facts which are not to be reconciled with the popular theory, that the Church of England came into the Colonies of England as the successor either of the adherents of the Pope or of Puritans who had discarded the order of the Church in which they were born. Nothing, of course, can antedate or exceed claims such as those which are founded on the award by the Popes of Rome, to Portugal of all the new world lying east of an imaginary line drawn from pole to pole a hundred leagues West of the Azores, and to Spain of all the new world lying west of that line [p. 5, n.]; but when it comes to a ques-

tion of actual occupation, the case of proprietorship assumes a different form. That the sole motive of the first voyagers and colonists was to extend the jurisdiction of the Church of England can hardly be said; but that the motive included such extension is plain enough. The motive of most human actions is complex, and the case of the colonists and their patrons appears to furnish no exception. Beside the promptings of self-interest, there were the desire to Christianise the savages, and the burning to pre-occupy as much territory as possible so that it might be preserved from Spanish dominion, which also involved Roman obedience. And in the accomplishment of these purposes no other religious form and order were contemplated, at least in the first instance, than those of the Church of England. One or two references may illustrate the author's position as to these points. After speaking of the presence of certain Clergymen of the Church of England in this country before the Reformation in the XVI. century, the author continues :

But it was not destined that the Church of England, unreformed, should people with her sons and daughters these distant lands. A new spirit was to animate the nation ere the settlement of a land, designed in the providence of GOD to be the home of civil and religious liberty, was to be successfully attempted. It was thus that the English Church, delivered 'from the tyrannie' of the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities, purified in the fiery furnace of the Marian persecutions from Romish error, as well as freed from Romish rule, entered upon the work of adding new realms to the dominion of the Cross with the same intrepidity and tireless zeal which inspired the adventures of English captains sailing out in quest of mines, or fisheries, or furs. Discovery and settlement became, in fact, acts of faith. The spirit in which these expeditions were undertaken is plainly disclosed in the instructions prepared by the venerable Sebastian Cabot, as governor 'of the mysterie and companie of the Marchants adventurers for the discoverie of Regions, Dominions, Islands, and places unknownen,' under the direction of King Edward VI., for the expedition under Sir Hugh Willoughby, despatched in 1553, to attempt the discovery of the northern passage to Cathay. These brave explorers . . . had with them 'Master Richard Stafford, Minister;' and the three ships, of 160, 120, and 90 tons burden respectively, made up, as Fuller, in his 'Worthies,' tells us, 'the first reformed fleet which had English prayers and preaching therein.'

was strictly enjoined in Cabot's code of instructions, 'that the morning and Evening Prayer, with other common services appointed by the King's majestie and lawes of this realme, be read and aide in every ship daily, by the minister in the admiral, and the marchant, or some other person learned, in the other ships, and the bible or paraphrases be read devoutly and Christianly to God's honour, and for His grace to be obtained and had by humble and eartie praier of the Navigants accordingly.' . . . 'Good order' in the 'daily service,' and prayers unto God for success, were enjoined in the instructions given to the voyagers sent out . . . at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. . . . In the awe and fear of God did these old explorers and adventurers put forth upon the almost unknown sea. The Body and Blood of CHRIST was their *viaticum*, and the last home words that fell upon their ears were the prayers and praises of the *Book of Common Prayer*. The Cross, with the arms of England at its foot, marked their discoveries and their chosen sites of settlement; and the words of their English Book of Prayer were said at morn and even wherever these dauntless voyagers pursued their way—north, till the impenetrable ice barred their path; South, till the remotest points of both hemispheres were reached; West, till in the broad rivers and inland seas of the New World they dreamed of finding a speedier way to Cathay and the spice-yielding East. Everywhere these sailors and settlers went, till the fame of England's Queen and the faith of England's reformed Church were known throughout the world. Each new acquisition of the unknown land lying in the direction of the setting sun was so much virgin soil rescued from Spanish thralldom and Rome's inquisitorial sway [pp. 2-5].

While Wolfall, the minister and preacher appointed by her majesty's council to accompany Frobisher's Expedition, in 1578, was making sermons and celebrating communions among the ice-fields of the North on the Eastern side of the American Continent, Drake and his followers, exploring the Pacific, on the Western side of the Continent, discovered, in 1579, the coast of Oregon and that part of California which now belongs to the United States, holding a solemn service in the presence of the natives on the feast of S. John the Baptist, or its eve, in that year.

It was thus that the Church's prayers were first heard on the Pacific Coast; and, in taking solemn possession, by the planting of the Cross with the arms of England affixed thereto, of 'New Albion' for England's Queen, the far West of our national domain was claimed for the Church of the English-speaking race. To

Francis Fletcher . . . belongs the honor of being the first in English orders who ministered the Word and Sacraments within the territory of the United States; and if, as is probable, the 'fayre and good baye' . . . where the events referred to occurred was the Bay of San Francisco, it was on this spot that the words of the Common Prayer were first heard on the Pacific coast [p. 8].

It may readily be supposed that this method of treating his theme takes the author through a multiplicity of details, in which it is impossible here to follow him. The perusal of them is full of interest, and increases the wonder at his intimate knowledge of all that bears directly or indirectly upon his subject. Extracts are given merely to illustrate his method, and to indicate the drift of his process as to the matter of preoccupation. His sketch of the labors and misfortunes of those who first settled on the coast of Maine (bearing in the opposite direction, and particularly interesting) concludes with these words:

Short as was their residence on the bleak coast of Maine, they have won their place in history as the first settlers of New England. They laid the foundations of State and Church at the North a year before the men of Leyden signed their solemn 'compact' in the cabin of the Mayflower, in Plymouth Harbor, and began on a soil to which they had no claim, and without the presence of a minister of their own faith, the civil and religious history of Puritan New England [p. 38].

In the same way is traced the history of the pioneers of the Church in other parts of New England; of services and sacraments in Raleigh's Colonies at Roanoke on the North Carolina coast; of the foundations of Church and State in Virginia; of the beginnings of the Church in Maryland, New York, and the middle Colonies; of the planting of the Church in Pennsylvania and Delaware, and in Georgia and South Carolina. Interspersed with these accounts are the stories of various efforts in the direction of the higher education made under Church auspices, resulting in the establishment of the University of Henrico and the College of William and Mary in Virginia, of Kings College in New York, and the College and Academy at Philadelphia.

Among the earlier Clergy of the Colony of Virginia,

one, the Reverend Dr. Bargrave, settled at Henrico, and, dying in 1621, left

his library, valued at one hundred marks, or seventy pounds sterling, to the College at Henrico, thus anticipating the act of the young Puritan minister of Charlestown, Mass., who, a few years later, left his loved books to the struggling College at Cambridge, and by that act gained a name and remembrance wherever 'Harvard' College is known. Would,

continues the author,

that 'Henrico' had been as long lived in its educational career, and that Bargrave's gift had won for him a life immortality [pp. 66, 67]!

The College at Henrico, however, seems to have shared the fate of the unfortunate race for whose benefit it was largely designed. In the institution of this College we see an endeavor to put in practice some of those professions which the colonists and their home patrons were liberal in making, that one of their chief designs in colonising was the carriage of God's Word into heathen countries, and the conversion of poor infidels to the faith of CHRIST; the endeavor taking the form of such instruction to some of the Savages as might the better fit them for the life of Christian civilisation, and, perhaps, to become instruments for the conversion of their brethren.

In a plantation avowedly settled 'for the glorie of GOD in the propagation of the Gospell of CHRIST,' and for 'the conversion of the Savages,' there could not fail to be, from the first, the wish and purpose for the provision of some institution where the higher learning, then deemed indispensable to the exercise of the Ministry, could be obtained without recourse to the Universities of the Mother-land. The Church whose 'form of sounds words' was first heard on our American shores, conveying to heaven the devotions of men of English speech and lineage, was foremost in the effort to meet this acknowledged want. In this attempt to lay the foundations of an educational system, by the provision of a public school and College, the co-operation of the colonists themselves was secured at the very outset. To that remarkable assembly in the choir of the Church at Jamestown [see p. 67], on Friday, July 30, 1619, and from which, rather than to (from) the cabin and 'compact' of the Mayflower, we may date the founda-

tion of our popular government, we must look for the inauguration of efforts for popular and the higher education. It was in the course of its proceedings that measures were taken 'towards the erecting of the University and Colledge,' as well as for the education of Indian children, for whom, as well as for the sons of the settlers, their Seminaries of learning were designed. All this was in accordance with the will and purpose of the Council of Virginia in England, to which was intrusted the rule of the infant Commonwealth. The government of the Colony by Sir Thomas Smith, the treasurer of the Virginia Company, under which the settlers had languished for twelve hopeless years, was scarcely over, when, at the incoming of Sir George Yeardley as Governor, orders were given for the establishment of a University in the Colony, with a college for the instruction of the Indian youth. In letters from the Council previous to the accession of the new Governor, reference is made to this design; but we must date the beginning of active measures for its accomplishment to the accession of the excellent Sir Edwin Sandys to the treasurership of the Company [p. 69].

The plan was largely favored and liberally aided. Thousands of pounds in money, Bibles, Prayer Books, and works of divinity, as well as books of instruction, were furnished; suitable provision was made for oversight and tuition; but the enterprise (including that of a public free school, which was to depend upon the "College in Virginia," but which was separately and largely endowed) came to an untimely end by reason of a terrible massacre by the Indians, and the sickness, famine, and general depression of the interests and hopes of the colonists which ensued.

The 'University of Henrico' and the 'East India Free School' were never to be built. In the words of Dr. Hawks, 'the massacre of Opecanconough thus gave a death-blow to the first efforts made in America for the establishment of a College, and years elapsed before the attempt was renewed. [p. 78].

The renewal of the attempt resulted in the establishment of the still enduring College of William and Mary, the account of which is given in the eighth and one of the most interesting chapters of this volume.

The founding of the Colleges in New York and Philadelphia, belonging to a much later period of time, about the middle of the XVIII. century, forms the subject of

a later chapter. The rise of these Colleges from a common movement, and the influence upon them of the interest and council and labors of such men as Bishop Berkeley, Benjamin Franklin, Dr. Samuel Johnson of Stratford, and Dr. William Smith are vividly portrayed [Ch. xxiii.]. From the correspondence between Dr. Johnson and Bishop Berkeley, it appears that the founding of a College in New York had been projected at least as early as 1749. In the same year a similar project was set on foot in Philadelphia, Franklin having sketched a plan for an institution of the higher learning in 1744, and issuing a pamphlet in 1749 entitled "Proposals relative to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania." Bishop Berkeley's suggestions were communicated to Franklin, who had visited Dr. Johnson and sought his acceptance of the charge of the proposed Academy. The desire that he should accept was earnestly supported by the Trustees, three-fourths of whom were members of the Church of England. Extracts are given by the author from Franklin's letters to Johnson in reply to the reasons of the latter for declining the position offered to him. One of Johnson's reasons was the insufficiency of the support offered, and his unwillingness to intrude upon the cure of Dr. Jenney in the endeavor to found a new parish in Philadelphia, which Franklin had suggested as a means to the end of increased income. Franklin's reply to this is characteristic :

Your tenderness of the Church's peace is truly laudable ; but, to rethink, to build a new Church in a growing place is not properly dividing, but multiplying, and will really be a means of increasing the number of those who worship God in that way. Many who cannot now be accommodated in the Church go to other places or stay at home, and if we had another Church many who go to other places or stay at home would go to Church. I suppose the interest of the Church has been far from suffering in Boston by the building of two new Churches there within my memory. I had for several years nailed against the wall of my house a pigeon-box that would hold six pairs ; and, though they bred as fast as my neighbors' pigeons, I never had more than six pairs, the old and strong driving out the young and weak and

obliging them to seek new habitations. At length I put up an additional box, with apartments for entertaining twelve pairs more, and it was soon filled with inhabitants by the overflowing of my first box and of others in the neighborhood. This I take to be a parallel case with the building a new Church here [p. 430].

This was very ingenious, but Dr. Johnson, who had just completed a work explaining and enforcing Bishop Berkeley's system of Philosophy, was not to be prevailed upon by so realistic an argument as an ecclesiastical pigeon-box; and could only be induced to help on the Philadelphia Academy by advice and suggestions. His subsequent connection with and valuable services to Kings College are well known, and, of course, related by the author.

The Reverend William Smith, D.D., a native of and educated in Scotland, ordained Deacon and Priest in the Palace at Fulham by Bishops acting for the Bishop of London, on December 21 and 23, 1753 (there kneeling with Bishop Seabury, who received his Deacon's and Priest's orders at the same time), having previous to his ordination attracted Franklin's attention by a scheme of education which he had published in New York, in a pamphlet entitled "A General Idea of the College of Mirania," was, on May 24, 1754, "inducted Provost of the College and Academy of Philadelphia and Professor of Natural Philosophy;" and by his zealous and well-directed efforts to advance the interests of the Institution, both financial and educational, justly earned for himself the title of a Founder of the College.

It was his pleasure and privilege to watch over its interest till amidst the vicissitudes of the war for independence schools of learning were closed, and in the attempted organisation of its government after the civil disruption the rights of the College authorities were trampled upon and the Provost dispossessed from the place he had filled with so much honor and usefulness. He was never restored to his former privileges and powers, and it is only of late years that full justice has been rendered to him for his abundant and most useful services to the cause of Christian education and the advance of the higher learning in America [p. 445].

His career, however, was not closed, as may appear from a study of the organisation of the Church after the Revolution.

In connection with the Author's account of the endeavors to promote the cause of higher education under the guidance of Church influences, will be read with much interest the Monographs IV. and VI. of the first volume; the former by the Rev. Moses Coit Tyler, D.D., on Dean Berkeley's sojourn in America; and the latter by the Rev. E. E. Beardsley, D.D., on Yale College and the Church; while the later aspects of the same subject have received the attention, in a department of the Appendix to the second volume entitled Monograph VII., of the Rev. Eugene Augustus Hoffman, D.D., who gives a valuable sketch of the General Theological Seminary, which, under his auspices and influence, has been within the last few years re-created; of the Rev. George Z. Gray, D.D., who sketches the Episcopal Theological School, in Cambridge, Mass.; and of the Rev. Samuel Hart, D.D., who gives the history of Trinity College in Connecticut; S. Paul's School, Concord, N. H., Racine College, and the University of the South being respectively commemorated by the Rev. Hall Harrison, Mr. Arthur Piper, and the Rev. W. P. Du Bose, D.D.

Whatever may be alleged on the score of preoccupation, it is certain that the Church of England had a struggle for life in the Colonies of England under some of the greatest possible disadvantages. To the labors of those who devoted their lives to the advancement of the Church's welfare in this stage of its existence the author gives full attention. The state of the Church in America at the beginning of the XVIII. century is treated in the xi. chapter of the first volume; and in connection with it is described the foundation of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, which was, in the providence of GOD, to affect so largely the state of the Church in this country as to leave subsequent generations under the conviction that without its instrumentality that Church would have al-

most ceased to be. And in other parts of this volume the evils of the want of Bishops; the labors, trials, and services of those who were burdened, under the title of Commissaries, with the execution of such authority as might be delegated by the English Episcopate apart from the office of a Bishop; the struggle to obtain the Episcopate, fruitless throughout the whole Colonial period; the supplications to those who had this gift to bestow, and the urgent reasons by which these supplications were supported; the controversies with those who scorned this gift for themselves, and who begrudged to others the valued possession of that which they despised for themselves—all this story, familiar as it has now become in its outlines, is set forth with a fulness and definiteness which has never before characterised its relation.

It appears that outside of Virginia and Maryland there were not, at the beginning of the XVIII. century, half a dozen Clergymen of the Church in all the Colonies of North America; and that, including those provinces where the Church was legally established, the whole number of Priests of the Mother Church ministering on American shores, from Maine to Carolina, was considerably less than 50, probably not twoscore [p. 203].

Such is the testimony quoted by the author from one of the Commissaries just referred to. Another writer, quoted by the author, complaining of the low condition of religion in Virginia, where the Church was established by law, thus states the causes of it:

The ministers are most miserably handled by their plebeian Juntos, the Vesteries, to whom the living (that is the usual word there) and admission of Ministers is solely left. And, there being no law obliging them to any more than procure a lay reader (to be obtained at a very moderate rate), they either resolve to have none at all or reduce them to their own terms; that is, use them how they please, pay them what they list, and discard them whensoever they have a mind to it. . . . Two-thirds of the preachers are made up of readers, lay priests of the Vesteries' ordination; and are both the shame and the grief of the rightly ordained clergie there. . . . Laymen were allowed to usurp the Office of Ministers, and Deacons to undermine and thrust out Presbyters; in a word, all things concerning the Church and religion were left to the mercy of the people. . . . To propagate

Christianity among the heathen—whether natives or slaves ought from other parts—although (as must piously be supposed) it were the only end of God's discovering those counsels to us, yet is that looked upon by our new race of Christians as idle and ridiculous that no man can forfeit his judgment more than by any proposal looking or tending that way [p. 204]. Such (remarks the author) was the state of religion and the Church in a province where the Church was established by law; nowhere sectism in various forms prevailed, and it was reserved to the Venerable Society to undertake the work which in the course of years gave us our American Church. Without the efforts of the Society in supplying us with men of 'Apostolic zeal' and 'unblamable character,' of true religion and good learning, the Church, betrayed by those who should have sought her highest good, 'wounded like her Master in the house of her enemies,' would have died [pp. 204, 205].

It was out of the knowledge of such a state of things in the Colonial Churches that the plan arose which developed into the formation and authorising by Royal Charter of the Venerable Society. In answer to an urgent appeal from the Clergy of Maryland, representing to the Bishop of London the great and pressing necessity of an ecclesiastical ruler, invested with such ample power as might capacitate him to redress what was amiss and supply what was wanting in the Church, it was determined to send as the Bishop's Commissary the Rev. Dr. Thomas Bray, who accepted the appointment on condition of the provision of parochial libraries for the Ministers sent out to the province. In this good design he enlisted the interest of the Archbishops and many of the Bishops; and in planning for the benefit of the colonists he conceived the idea of a Church of England Congregation *pro fide propaganda* by Charter from the King. Out of this design, before he left England, originated the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; and, after his return from his first visit to Maryland, the thought which seems to have been originally in his mind was worked out into the scheme of a Society whose special duty it should be to propagate the Gospel throughout the Colonies and foreign dependencies of the British Empire, for which he sought and procured a Charter.

The influence of Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Compton, Bishop of London, was exerted in behalf of this application ; but nothing can take from Thomas Bray the distinguished honor of being the originator and founder of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts [p. 140].

The Society held its first meeting at Lambeth Palace, on the 27 of June, 1701, and included among its members the chief dignitaries of the Church of England, as well as distinguished laymen, eminent among whom were the saintly Robert Nelson and the celebrated John Evelyn. It is a noticeable fact that in the second year of its existence the Society was considering the necessity of the appointment of a Suffragan Bishop for America, and debating the possibility of obtaining the Episcopal relief so earnestly desired from the Scotch Bishops. Another interesting fact noticeable in this connection, though belonging to a later date in history, is that the records of the meetings of this Society, with the correspondence of its missionaries, in which the history of the Church in America was given year by year, were, so far as related to our North American Colonies, copied by our historiographer, Dr. Hawks, under direction of the General Convention.

Shortly after these transcripts were made, the original documents were destroyed by fire, and the American Church, by its gift of the volumes of these letters sumptuously printed under the authority of the General Convention, has furnished the Society with the material for much of its own history, which had else been hopelessly lost [p. 199].

So the untiring industry of Dr. Hawks, in his loving care for the preservation of the monuments of history, has benefited not the Church of his own country only, but also that of England ; and so his good works do follow him in a way that no one anticipated.

It is difficult for those who have been accustomed only to the indifferentism or charity amidst which the younger generation has grown up to realise the intense interest which men took in questions relating to the faith and order of the Church in the Colonial times. This intensity of interest led not only to very explicit

and sometimes very harsh words, but also to very severe dealing with those who happened to be in the minority, as the Churchmen were in New England. One of the best possible illustrations of the temper of those times, and the methods and consequences of controversy, is given by the author in his account of the trial of John Checkley, and the struggles of the Church in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut [pp. 257-282].

John Checkley was a native of Boston, educated partly in the Colony and partly at Oxford, from which University he afterward received an honorary M.A. He spent some time in travel and study, which improved his natural ability so that when he returned to his native country he was found very troublesome in the controversies into which his strong Church principles and feelings led him in opposition to the prevailing Puritanism. His controversies were numerous and bitter; especially bitter in the attacks upon himself. And not content with the result of their best efforts to conquer him in argument, his adversaries had him brought to trial before the Colonial authorities, by whom he was fined 50 pounds and ordered to give bonds for 100 pounds for good behavior for six months, and stand committed until sentence was performed. This sentence was given against him as the author of a false and scandalous libel; and the false and scandalous libel was the publication of Leslie's *Short and Easy Method with the Deists*, to which was added a Discourse concerning Episcopacy, in defence of Christianity and the Church of England against the Deists and Dissenters. The verdict upon which this sentence was rendered is a curious specimen:

The Jury find specially, viz.: If this Book, entituled, *A Short and Easy Method with the Deists*, containing in it a Discourse concerning Episcopacy (published and many of them sold by the said John Checkley) be a false and scandalous libel, then we find the said Checkley guilty of all and every part of the Indictment excepting that supposed to traduce and draw into dispute the undoubted Right and Title of our Sovereign Lord King George of the Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Territories hereto belonging). But if the said Book, containing a Discourse

concerning Episcopacy as aforesaid, be not a false and scandalous libel, then we find him not guilty [p. 265].

That is to say, if he be guilty, he is guilty; and if he be not guilty, he is not guilty, which reads like the traditional Hibernian verdict of "not guilty, but recommended to mercy;" or that other curious epitome of the wisdom of one of our Ecclesiastical Courts, in the case of a dignitary who shall be nameless, and who was found "guilty of lying without criminality." Evidently, at least, the principle that, in libel cases, the jury are judges both of the law and the fact, was unknown to this tribunal.

The speech by which Checkley sustained his own cause was

in Checkley's happiest vein, full of hardly suppressed sarcasm and close reasoning. Disposing with great cleverness of the charge of sedition, while at the same time defending with marked ability the exclusive validity of Episcopal ordination and Sacraments; compelling even the Chief Justice, who had attempted to cut short his arguments, to permit and listen to a labored defence of the most obnoxious portions of the discourse concerning Episcopacy; quoting, in support of his position, that all 'ordination by the people is null and void,' the language of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, the General Assembly of Scotch Presbyterians, and the learned Ebenezer Pemberton's Discourse of Ordination, Checkley proceeded to prove, 1st, that no Provincial Assembly could, by right or in fact, establish either the Presbyterian or Congregational systems 'so as to make THAT the establishment and the Episcopal Churches to be Dissenters;' 2d, that 'by a just and true construction of the laws of this very Province the Church of England is established here;' 3d, that by the laws of England the Church of England 'as established in England, and no other, is positively established in all His Majesty's plantations.' It is safe to assert that no such speech was ever made before a New England audience, and it is not hard to imagine with what rage and vindictive hate its sharp and cutting sentences were heard [p. 265].

Obviously the speech had more effect upon the jury than upon the court.

Judging by the extracts from both sides of the controversy made by the author, the false and scandalous libelling was hardly limited to Checkley's effusions. One of his antagonists calls Checkley a pert Jacobite, and

twice thirty years a servant of the devil." No doubt heckley was aggravating, not only by reason of his rightforward blows of argument, but also by his side ts, such, for instance, as the following :

A specimen of a true dissenting Catechism, upon right true blue ssenting principles, with learned notes, by way of explication. *Question*: Why don't the Dissenters in their publick worship make e of the Creeds? *Answer*: Why? Because they are not set own word for word in the Bible. *Question*: But why don't the issenters in their publick worship make use of the LORD's ayer? *Answer*: Oh! Because that is set down word for word the Bible. They're so perverse and opposite as if they wor- ip'd God for spite [p. 268].

On the other hand, we have a passage, like the fol- wing, from Dr. Samuel Mather's *Testimony from ripture against Idolatry and Superstition*, originally eached in Dublin in 1660, and now reproduced against eckley, being a setting forth in certain particulars of he principal ceremonies and idols of the Church of ngland."

1. Do you think that ever JESUS CHRIST wore a surplice? 2. e sign of the Cross, that special mark of the Beast, *Revelation* i. 16. 3. Kneeling at the LORD's Supper . . . a dangerous nbolising with the Papists, who kneel before their Breaden GOD. Bowing to the Altar and setting the Communion Table Altar se . . . a gross piece of Popish Idolatry. 5. Bowing at the me of JESUS. A most vile piece of *Syllabical Idolatry*. . . . Popish Holy Days. As if the LORD JESUS CHRIST himself were t wise enough to appoint Days and Times sufficient to keep s own Nativity, etc., in everlasting remembrance in the hearts His Saints, but the Devil and the Pope must keep it out. 7. nsecrating churches. Inherent holiness is in Persons, which ces are no way capable of. 8. Organs and Cathedral musick. t one word of Institution for them in the Gospel; but on the itrary they are cashiered . . . by that General Rule. *1 Corin- us* xiv. 26, 15. 9. The Book of Common Prayer. It is as un- sonable and absurd as to force a man to go with crutches en he is not lame, etc., etc. [p. 269].

But controversy does not always and necessarily pro- ce harsh expressions, or indicate malevolent disposi- ns. The following extract from a pamphlet of Dr. muel Johnson, of Stratford, in another controversy, is orthy of observation and remembrance :

For God's sake, my brethren : Let us not, for the future study to put the worst constructions we can on one another's Words or Actions ; but let us rather endeavour to make the best we can of them. Let us not try to magnifie and aggravate the Differences between us, but rather to make as little of them, and to consider them with as much Tenderness, as possible ; Let us not dispute which has already most or least charity, but let us strive to see who shall hereafter, really and in fact, most abound in the Practice of that Heavenly Virtue, both towards each other, and toward all Men. This is the best course we can take as far as possible in this imperfect state to reconcile ourselves to one another, both in Judgment and Practice : to meet together in Truth, and live in Peace here, or, however, to meet at last in that perfect state of Truth and Peace and Holiness hereafter, where God and Charity alone shall forever reign [p. 275].

To return to Checkley, however, his most earnest desire seems to have been to minister at the altars of the Church whose Apostolical institution and government he had so stoutly maintained. To accomplish this desire he crossed the ocean three times, only on his third application being successful. He was understood by the ecclesiastical authorities in England to be open to two objections, which we have other reasons for knowing were in the eyes of the English Episcopate most serious disqualifications for the laying on of hands.

The Rev. John Barnard, the Puritan Minister of Marblehead, wrote, as he tells us in his Autobiography, to the Bishop of London, accusing Checkley of lack of learning, of intolerance, and of disaffection to the Government. These charges were sufficient to carry the point, and their author exultantly records his pleasure : 'Thus our Town and the Churches of this Province through the favour of God, got rid of a turbulent, vexatious, and persecuting spirited non-juror' [p. 270, n].

Rather slight evidence this, of his want of loyalty to the House of Hanover, but the *warning* appears to have been sufficient ; and anyway there could be no doubt of his being displeasing to the Dissenters. At length, however,

—in the year 1739, the Bishop of Exeter, Dr. Stephen Weston, a friend of Bishop Sherlock's, 'was found willing to hear this impracticable man, begging, at the age of fifty-nine, to be *allowed* to minister in one of the hardest spheres on earth to which a

churchman was ever doomed.' . . . The newly ordained clergyman . . . was appointed, with a stipend of £60 sterling, to John's Mission, Providence, and began at the age of sixty to ministry that was ended only by his death, after fourteen years' faithful service. Old though he was at his entrance upon duty, no man was more desired' by the Church-folk of Providence. Received with joy' by his congregation, he labored for the negroes and Indians as well as those more immediately of his charge, and in the midst of engrossing duties found time and strength to minister at Taunton, twenty miles distant, and also at Warwick and Attleborough. From time to time he visited the Indians in various parts of New England, with whom he appears to have (had) no little influence, in consequence of his ability to speak with them in their own tongues. At length . . . the faithful old man died, and the worshippers who throng the noble church which has replaced the simple structure in which he ministered, pass, as they enter 'the courts of the LORD,' over his marked grave [pp. 270, 271].

From the career of one whose controversies ended in life of faithful preaching and ministration, the transition to the career of some whose preaching and ministrations have issued in endless controversies, is not altogether forced; although, as perhaps it is unnecessary to say, the transition in the present case is that of the reviewer and not of the author. In the course of the author's account of the Missionaries of the Church, there stand out two most remarkable pictures—remarkable both for the character and work of the men themselves, and for the vivid manner in which these pages portray them—those, namely, of John Wesley and George Whitfield. It will be worth while to take a glimpse of the history of two men, who left their mark upon the religious life of this country, and who, although they did not follow the same methods in their work here, appear to have been actuated by a common spirit of enthusiasm, which in time, through the agency of both, produced the fruit of schism. Wesley's work, while he was himself in this country, was performed with the most uncompromising adherence to the rules of the Church, plus some devices of his own, such as "little societies" and "meetings for mutual exhortation." Whitfield, on the other hand, rather made convenience of his position in the Church. Whitfield succeeded; Wesley failed, although partly from causes

outside of his work. The Methodism which looks to Wesley as its source, apparently owes the success which it has had to the tendency of Wesley's disciples toward Whitfield's ways; ways in which personal religion is to be regarded as if it were wholly independent of the Divine institutions of the Church of CHRIST, and in which the regenerating and renewing influence of the HOLY SPIRIT is to be sought not so much in the use of the means of grace as by miraculous interposition.

In accordance with the suggestion of Dr. Burton, President of Corpus Christi in Oxford, and one of the Trustees of Georgia, Wesley accompanied General Oglethorpe in his journey to that colony.

On Quinquagesima Sunday, March 7, 1736, Wesley entered on his ministry at Savannah, preaching on the Epistle for the day. . . . On the first Sunday in Lent he administered the Holy Communion, giving notice of his 'design to do so, every Sunday and holy day, according to the rules of our Church.' There were eighteen communicants. Incidentally we learn from his journal something of his Lenten austerities. At one time he lived solely upon bread. During Holy Week he instituted a 'little society' among the 'more serious' of 'the little flock in Savannah.' Out of this he selected a smaller number 'for a more intimate union with each other,' who met in the minister's home every Sunday afternoon. On the second Sunday after Easter he 'began dividing the public prayers, according to the original appointment of the Church.' Morning Prayer began at five o'clock. The Communion Office with the sermon was at eleven. The Evening Prayer was said about three o'clock. . . . Baptism by immersion was now insisted upon. Ascension-Day was observed by a celebration. The little society grew in numbers. . . . In the meantime Charles Wesley had returned to England. . . . John Wesley sought to make good his brother's absence by occasional visits to Frederica, walking through swamps and thickets, lying out all night, exposed to storms, and often destitute of food. 'By his coming the Morning and Evening Prayers were revived.' Services in German were also had for the benefit of those who could not understand the English tongue, and the more thoughtful were banded together, as in Savannah, for godly reading, prayer, and praise. . . . The children were catechised before and after school, again on Saturday, and on Sunday before the Evening Service, and the best of them still again before the congregation after the Second Lesson. An hour was spent at the minister's home after Evening Service on Sundays and Wednesdays, 'in prayer, singing, and mutual exhortations.' A communicants'

meeting was held on Saturday evening, and a few were found to come on the other evenings of the week for an half-hour's prayer and praise. On Palm-Sunday, April 3, 1737, and 'every day in this great and Holy Week' there was 'a sermon and the Holy Communion.' To his studies in German and French, in both which languages he ministered from time to time, he added the acquisition of Spanish, 'in order,' as he tells us, 'to converse with my Jewish parishioners, some of whom seem nearer to the mind that was in CHRIST than many of those who call Him LORD.' He met with the Commissary, Alexander Garden, and the clergy in the neighboring Province of South Carolina, at the appointed 'visitation,' and found great satisfaction in a conversation with them for several hours on 'CHRIST our Righteousness.'

The story of an episode in Wesley's life, not generally known, but having an important bearing on his work here, being his devotion to Miss Sophia Christianson Hopkey, a niece of Thomas Causton, the chief magistrate of the settlers, is gracefully told by the author; but for our purposes may be summed up by three extracts from his journal, almost as crisp and comprehensive as Cæsar's famous *Veni, vidi, vici*, but unhappily with an inverted climax.

I walked with Mr. Causton to his country lot, and plainly felt that had GOD given me such a retirement with the companion I desired, I should have forgot the work for which I was born, and set up my rest in this world.

The following day the record reads :

Miss Sophy engaged herself to Mr. Williamson, a person not remarkable for handsomeness, neither for greatness, neither for wit, or knowledge, or sense, and least of all for religion.

Four days later the tale is completed :

They were married at Purrysburg—this being the day which completed the year from my first speaking with her. What Thou doest, O God, I know not now, but I shall know hereafter.

Notwithstanding the many good qualities for the want of which Mr. Williamson was remarkable before his marriage, it is probable that, after his marriage, Wesley discovered further, that he was no more remarkable for long-sufferingness than for handsomeness. In consequence of Mrs. Williamson's neglect to observe the

Rubric requiring notice to be given to the curate the day before of an intention to communicate, she found herself repelled from the Holy Table. And this act of discipline Mr. Williamson so strongly resented as to institute legal proceedings against the parson for defamation of his wife's character in so repelling her in a public congregation, and to feel himself damaged to the extent of 1,000 pounds sterling. This brought to the surface much ill will in the community, and occasioned so much bitterness as greatly to impair Wesley's usefulness. His labors were even increased, although one would have thought that impossible, but the congregation dwindled. "Discord reigned and scandal abounded on every side. An attempt at reconciliation failed," and Wesley finally set sail for England on the 22 of December, having resided in Georgia for one year and nearly nine months [pp. 335-345].

The ship which brought Wesley into the Downs passed one, outward bound, bearing to the mission field just abandoned the already celebrated George Whitfield. Drawn by the appeals of Wesley for help, this young clergyman, but just admitted to the Diaconate, had resolved to throw in his lot with the infant colony.

After spending some time in his ministry here as a Deacon, he returned to England and received Priests' Orders, coming again to Georgia and carrying on his peculiar methods there. Although relaxing somewhat the rubrical strictness of his predecessor, he continued, during his Diaconate, on the whole, faithful to the Church; but after ordination to the Priesthood he began little by little that affiliation with Dissenters, which in the end arrayed against him, and in opposition to his peculiar modes of operation, the leading Clergy of the Church at home and abroad. The preaching of the doctrine of the *new birth*, as explained by himself, produced the wildest enthusiasm. During the building of a new church in Savannah, dissenting preachers occupied the pulpit at the temporary place of worship from time to time. The prayers were curtailed. The inhibition of Commissary Garden was unheeded. The Bishops were publicly

d, and their theology held up to scorn ; and when
eld set out on a journey he left his cure in the
of such Anabaptist, or enthusiastic preachers, or
n as he found ready at hand for the purpose.

: result which might have been expected followed.
time his enthusiasm attracted all sorts of people to
hurch ; afterward the Church people themselves
to be unsettled. The adoption of means and
ds which the Church is thought to have been un-
in laying aside, or avoiding, coupled with the
e intention of doing good to those who have
to heed or appreciate the provision which the
h has made for them, may stimulate a zeal which,
time, appears to work wonders ; but the issue is
suggest that the Church was not so foolish after
simple-minded earnestness may lead men to long
e rousing of a spirit of enthusiasm, but the spirit
husiasm is apt to master rather than to serve the
interests of the Church. So it proved here :

True lovers of the Church (writes a contemporary) have
: a great straight for a long while, not well knowing how to
under such a torrent of enthusiasm and strange doctrine
t in among us by sectaries of divers sorts, whilst the Liturgy
: parts of the several offices has been either curtailed, man-
romitted ; the Psalms and ordinary Lessons appointed have
isregarded, to make room for extemporary expositions on
rt of Holy Scripture which the expositor liked better for
pose. Surplice, gown, and cassock, and all such innocent
ies have been thrown aside as useless or worse, while the
ox Clergy of the Church have been vilely treated with
y, as slothful shepherds, dumb dogs, etc., and some of our
l and pious Divines, once the ornament of the age they
a, now in their graves, villified to that degree (from the pul-
name as to attempt persuading all those who followed
bat it was the sure way to hell [pp. 352, 353].

e same writer is quoted by the author as giving a
ption of one of Whitfield's performances, which
be presumed to be a fair sample of the rest, and
which we may take our leave of him as he did of his
rs :

ie afternoon Mr. Whitfield came to town from Bethesda ;
evening he began the common service of the Church, then

read the Second Lesson, and proceeded to give the congregation a lecture, off-hand, on those topics which he was so fond of, concerning Election, Reprobation, etc., asserting it against all gainsayers, that unless we attain to such a portion of the HOLY SPIRIT within us, and so sensibly feel it moving as to assure us of our being justified, we were all in a state of damnation ; which he did so pathetically, that he not only dropped tears himself, but drew many tears and groans from great part of his audience ; after which he laid aside the Common Prayer Book, and instead of those prayers that remained to be read, he fell into a long extemporaneous prayer of his own, full of flatus and enthusiasm, and uttered with a Stentor's voice, bewailing the little number of converts he had been able to make during the time of his ministry, lamenting the forlorn state of the colony, through the hardness of their hearts, which he plainly saw could never prosper till this generation was all worn out, like the Israelites in the wilderness, and intimating that his orphan-house was a work of GOD, from which future blessings might be derived to this place ; then cautioning all to beware of such as preached soft things, he dismissed his audience, taking a formal leave of them [p. 353].

Of a very different character had been the missionary work of Keith and Talbot, described in an earlier part of this volume [pp. 206-221]. The description of these and other missionaries, the abstracting of the author's account of notable conversions to the Church, of the growth of the Church in Connecticut, of the struggle for the Episcopate, and, above all, of the position of the colonial Clergy at the time of the Revolution, would be a most grateful task to the writer ; and performed, however unsatisfactorily to him, could hardly, from the very richness of the material, fail to be interesting and instructive to the reader—and then we should only have skimmed the surface of the first of these mammoth volumes. All of this immense mine has been worked preparatory to the entrance upon the subject, which was particularly assigned to the author, of the history of the Church for the first century of its existence as an organisation distinct from the Church of England. The early conventions, the process of the organisation of the scattered colonial churches, the principles underlying that process, the transmission and perpetuation of the Episcopal succession, the parties and strifes in the Church, the missionary movements, the ordeal of the

Church in the war between the States, and many other subjects which are treated in the second volume are worthy of deeper study and more careful handling than, under present pressure, the present writer is able to bestow upon them, although he is not without the hope of a further and more deliberate endeavor in this direction. What has been said already may, it is hoped, at least, convey that favorable impression of the author's work which a careful perusal cannot fail to strengthen. A score of pages more or less may suffice for the review of a book, but it would make a book to review a library, and such, in its range and detailed treatment of subjects, this work may, without much exaggeration, be said to be.

WILLIAM JONES SEABURY.

RECENT AMERICAN FICTION.

The Rise of Silas Lopham. By W. D. HOWELLS. Boston: Ticknor & Co. 1885.

An Original Belle. By E. P. ROE. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. 1885.

The Prophet of the Great Smoky Mountains. By CHARLES EGBERT CRADDOCK. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1885.

As it was Written. By SIDNEY LUSKA. New York and London: Cassell & Co. 1885.

Andromeda. By GEORGE FLEMING. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1885.

"THE Novel," "The Modern Novel," "The American Novel," are phrases which have become familiar to most of us in the magazines and newspapers of late years. They are brave, all of them, with capital letters and the definite article, and, enriched with these dignities have the appearance of captions for theses or headings for discussion wherever the eye alights upon them. The novel has, in fact, become a "subject," and it is canvassed earnestly as such, not only by readers of fiction, but recently by the makers of it. This is no doubt part of the indomitable spirit of inquiry which, in our time, leads us to analyse good things instead of merely enjoying them. We must know why we like a novel, and if we ought to like it. Our grandfathers

content with an unreasoning enjoyment of the
 es of Fielding and Smollett ; it did not occur to them
 ason with their satisfaction. The novelists who live
 age in which this restless habit of investigation has
 esticated itself, and who write for such readers, are
 rally self-conscious and much given to making the
 t discoveries about themselves and their art. As
 practise the announcement of these discoveries,
 ing could be more interesting and agreeable. They
 us of them in lectures, in magazine articles, and in
 novels themselves, and however they tell us the
 ig is charming. For there is scarcely any of the
 ism and self-seeking which superficial writers like to
 n this when they offer their sagacious musings upon
 Modern American Novelist. There may surely
 a high and wholesome curiosity about the purposes
 ne's art, in which personal considerations are abol-
 l. It is such a curiosity about the ceaselessly inter-
 g movement of life which inspires men to write
 ls, and it is not strange that they should manifest
 regard to the methods and purposes of their com-
 d work—the record of their curious observation.
 at the novelist takes his art with increasing seri-
 ousness in our time and country is, in fact, most fortu-
 ; for the body of persons who learn of him the better
 of their ideas of life, who unconsciously absorb
 him their theories not only of taste, but of morality,
 goodness, truth, and manly living, grows larger. It
 ell that the men with whom such responsibility rests
 ld be as conscious of it as possible ; and they can
 ously challenge the tendencies and purposes, the
 ods and processes of their work too rigidly. It is
 that our American novelists, taking their cue in part
 the French masters of fiction, are of late more anx-
 about the methods and processes than about ten-
 ices and purposes ; but this will right itself in time by
 tural reaction, and meanwhile we have reason to be
 of the illumination which constant discussion sheds
 the principles of fiction writing, so that those who
 our future novels can make them unsoundly only by

sinning against light, and those who read our present novels cannot excuse the reading of poor ones either by alleging that there is no conscientious fiction made, or that they are not told what constitutes good fiction. In truth, the habit of criticism, begotten of frequent reading of the novelists' investigations of themselves and their performances in print, must tend to refine literary taste, and it has certainly, with the aid of other influences of the same sort, increased the number of those who have learned to refuse all but the best novels. It is cheering, at all events, to see the manifestations of a healthfully active spirit of self-inquiry among the makers of fiction, for it assures us that whithersoever they lead us it will not be in ignorance of the path they are treading.

The growth of this spirit has kept pace with the sudden and remarkable uplifting of the whole tone of novel writing which began in this country between ten and fifteen years ago. The date of the publication of the first fictions of Howells and of James is likely to be set down by the future literary historian of our time as epoch-marking. He will undoubtedly have his ideas about the work of these writers, this historian; and they will as certainly not be our ideas. But whatever his notions about the permanent value of novels like *The Rise of Silas Lapham* and *The Portrait of a Lady*, he cannot blind himself to the fact that the first publication of such solid, fine, careful, faithfully artistic work as those books represent, punctuates a new era in American letters. He will not fail to remember that there had been conscientious fiction written in this country before; Hawthorne can scarcely seem a less splendid figure to him than to us. But Hawthorne struck a note which died with him; and the fictions of Howells and James were seemingly born of a widely felt impulse, astir at the time in many other minds and by no means dead yet. It chanced to be the mission of their genius to give it its first utterance, and our historian of the next century—that shrewd and discriminating gentleman whom every writer of this century likes to imagine as incapable of the critical perversity of declining to carry

cubations over into the nineteen hundreds, as treasure-will perceive this, and say it, if he is at all the man to make him for.

There are just now nearly as many shades of opinion as to the literary performances of Messrs. Howells and Twain as there are literary critics. A hundred years ago, when Romance, mayhap, is at the top of the list, and taking such a pelting from all sorts of critical theories as Realism is taking now, there may be no one who cares as much for these writers as some enthusiasts of our day do now; their works may stand respectably on top shelves, unread in a great many libraries, as some easily named writings which the last century labelled Classical, in advance, do upon the shelves of libraries in many lands in our day; but the students of the future will put their fingers on the period between 1870 and 1880 in America, and say: "Here was a vigorous and remarkable literary movement. Here we trace the beginnings of an influence which affected the fictional output of all the latter half of the XIXth century. For the domestication in American literature of the idea behind this movement two writers are mainly responsible. Their merit was exaggerated in their time; it was also unduly depreciated. But looking as impartially as we can through the prevailing fog of critical opinion overshadowing all literary work at that day, we can be sure of one thing, that the work of these men stood for altogether the most vital and important literary impulse of the age. They were all wrong, of course, by our standards. We have recovered from their theories with admirable completeness. But they effectively left their mark on the novel-writing of the day, and the Reaction, when it came, learned much from them which it could not do without."

And then these students will give a special paragraph to the "movement" in their "American Literature" books for young people (we shall have international copyright by that time, and the story of American literature will have been promoted from its present position as supplement to text-books on English Litera-

ture), and they will print the names of Mr. Howells and Mr. James, and perhaps a half-dozen others, in fat black type, and the young people, their critical views thus assisted, will possess more definite convictions upon this subject than our young people ever will, though they live to the allotted age of man.

We can safely leave to these text-books and to the critical volumes of the XXth century, the task of recording the final effect of the work of Messrs. Howells, James, and their school. It is no doubt worth while to discuss it in advance, but such a discussion would occupy much space, and could, at best, be no more than suggestive. Our business is with the present influence exerted by their theories. It is certainly wide-spread, and in one way at least must wholesomely affect all writing. This is in the elementary matter of the use of the language. It is entirely within the facts to say that Mr. Howells, to take a single instance and remain on safe ground, employs our English tongue with a graceful and easy command, a vigor and homely force, a happy variety and flexibility, a poetic felicity and daring, and a fastidious respect which we shall match among those who have written or now write English fiction with extreme difficulty. To this, with their own modifying phrases, most persons capable of forming an opinion will probably agree; and this pre-eminent characteristic is the only point upon which any considerable number of critics could be brought to agree regarding Mr. Howells. They would probably admit readily enough also that Mr. James uses language admirably. But there, too, assent would stop. To have fixed a standard of writing which no one can now fall greatly below in this country and obtain permanent consideration, is to have done much, however. One who looks abroad and tries his endurance upon the slovenly writing which passes current in English fiction must feel how much.

Some other things, as it seems to the present writer, these gentlemen and their associates have forced upon general consideration. They have lent a new dignity to novel writing by the practice of a well-considered

and unobtrusive reserve. They have enlarged the respect for fiction by respecting their calling themselves; and giving to its service refined and critical minds which, a century ago, would have spent themselves on elegant essay writing as their more natural field. The delicacy of their work has its dangers; but it has clearly of a great value. It is a delicacy which spreads from the use of language to the treatment of all the various conditions of life and character which they paint, and keeps them securely from the temptation to follow the French writers—otherwise, in some sense, their masters—into uncleanness for subject-matter. It is a delicacy, it must be said, however, which does not enlighten our perception in spiritual things. And this brings us to a matter which cannot be considered here at length—the lamentable failure of all this beautiful work in moral earnestness and strength. Very many feel as they lay down a novel of Howells, of James, or of one of their romancers, some vague lack in the admirable creations whose acquaintance they have enjoyed, a formless dissatisfaction with the segment of life's drama which has been played before them, without being able to explain their source. It arises, as it appears to the writer, from the benumbing absence of a vigorous moral conviction and a firmly grasped faith. This is a crude way of stating the fact; and it is set down in this brief and summary fashion reluctantly, for the point should in fairness be made more clear, and it is worth urging. Indeed, looking over the recent achievements of American writers in the field of fiction, no conclusion seems more imperatively to demand enforcing; but it must be left to another time and to more capable hands.

Meanwhile this much may reasonably be hazarded: the teaching of these writers is an artistic teaching, it is not, and probably will not, enrich our ideas about the conduct of life; it has no new message to offer touching life which they and we are living; it regards it as a spectacle to be accurately and faithfully presented, not to be in any degree explicated or reasoned. They would doubtless say that all this is foreign to the purpose of the

novel, and so we should run up against a trite subject of discussion.

It is scarcely in this way that Mr. E. P. Roe errs. To find a more extreme contrast than that between him and the school just mentioned would be difficult. For anything that he has heard of the new lessons in the air about novel writing Mr. Roe might as well be a mediæval troubadour. *An Original Belle*, his latest fiction, cannot be said to be exactly un-modern, for it is a characteristic performance of the author, and Mr. Roe is not a writer about whom there is much of the feudal. On the contrary, he is as natural a product of the conditions of American life as Howells or James, but in a somewhat different way. Mr. Roe, so far from holding with these Realists that the novel need not relate itself very solidly to the great moral basis of things, would seem to have a fixed belief that the moral basis is really the only point, and if the novelist has enough of it he need not greatly trouble himself about his novel. Mr. Roe has his theories as well as Mr. Howells or Mr. James, but they are not about the artistic ethics of novel writing. He has a conception of the good which fiction may do, of the large possibilities of its mission, and a sense of his responsibility in having the ear of a vast audience, which do him honor. Nothing could be better, of course; but Mr. Roe's manner of discharging his generously conceived functions is for the most part clumsy, self-conscious, and unhappy. He probably does much good, and that, one may say, compensates for any ineptitude in his fashion of doing it. But how much more good might he do if he could but reinforce his admirable purposes with a reasonable art! If the moral were a little less obtrusive, presented with a trifle more skill, let us say, would it not have a better chance of implanting itself effectively in the hearts the writer is anxious to reach? The Sunday-school books of our day, written with avowed purpose to instruct and lead in the right way, and having no special obligation to art, are more ingeniously constructed for their purpose than Mr. Roe's.

In the volume under consideration, *An Original*

Belle, the writer, as is his habit, is at pains to make us acquainted with his purpose in a preface, apparently in fear that the book will not discover it to the reader; and in the first chapter the purpose itself, embodied, personified, and dragged incontinently upon the stage, presented with a conspicuousness which must force it upon the attention of any one in need of the kind of reform for which *An Original Belle* is a plea. It does seem, however, that any "belle" in need of the moral awakening which comes to the heroine of this book—unless she were very "original" indeed—would be repelled by this first chapter's super-obvious point, and quite wearied by the second chapter's enforcement of it. Omitting the pervasive purpose, *An Original Belle* is a pleasant book, so far as its rather pretty and well-conceived love-story goes; but this is swathed in unnumbered pages of irrelevant matter, and asks more patience for its disentanglement than it is easy to give, until one comes to the account of the draft riots in New York, in the summer of 1863, which are described with vividness and some power. Mr. Roe has, to speak plainly, scarcely any of the qualities which go to make a first-rate novelist. His imagination is thin and slow, his ability to create natural people is not large, the conversations which he finds for them are such as never could be held outside a book, and his style is one of undilute commonplace. That his books sell more widely than those of any American novelist is nothing to his credit. There will always be a larger audience for such work as this than there can be for the delicate art of Howells, for the same reason, roughly speaking, that the *Chautauqua Literary Circle Monthly*—an excellent journal in its way, but not appealing to the highest tastes—has a very large circulation, while the *Atlantic Monthly* has but 15,000 readers.

Miss Murfree (writing under the pseudonym of Charles Egbert Craddock) seems to have absorbed many of the lessons about her art which have been spoken of as in the air, before committing herself to publication. She is almost as different outwardly from

Howells or James as Mr. Roe is; but she is in the completest accord with their rigidly artistic view of the novel. *In the Tennessee Mountains*, her first book, was a series of remarkably fresh and powerful short stories. She showed in this, for a novice, an uncommon mastery of the short story. But short-story writing is almost as different from novel writing as sculpture is from painting. It is an art of itself, and skill in it does not imply success in the making of novels. *The Prophet of the Great Smoky Mountains*, following Miss Murfree's collection of short stories, is therefore interesting, as in some degree showing whether we have in "Charles Egbert Craddock" a novelist, as well as a short-story writer of uncommon cleverness and brilliancy. *The Prophet of the Great Smoky Mountains* is in a degree a fulfilment of the promise of the stories. It is an advance upon them, and it shows that we may look for solid and permanent work from the writer in the broad and difficult field of the novel. A perfectly symmetrical novel, maturely considered, justly balanced in all parts, it is not. But it has an interesting story to tell, it is peopled with the realest sort of real persons, and its scene makes a rich and effective background, both for them and the development of the story. This story occupies only about three hundred pages, of largish type, and should be easy to tell in a few sentences. But it is not, and it is because it lacks a dominant meaning and purpose. From the title it is fair to presume that the writer has taken for her subject the Prophet himself, and when the end is read one might say, the Prophet's sacrifice. The Prophet—a parson of the mountains, with the attributed gift of prophecy—is finely conceived as tortured by radical doubts of his religious faith, while supposing (in his narrow experience) himself to be the one creature in all God's universe not at one with his Maker. But this admirably imagined character, though he haunts the whole book, is not firmly bodied forth anywhere in it. We find ourselves, while prepared to sympathise with him in his awful trial, insufficiently acquainted both with him and with his difficulty. And nothing replaces the

Prophet and his ordeal as the salient point of the book. The incidents have chiefly to do with the "hiding out," as the mountaineers call it, of Rick Tyler, charged unjustly with complicity in a murder. But this, even if we add the fact of Rick's love for Dorinda Cayce, the daughter of a moonshiner, and his stupid jealousy of Parson Kelsey, the Prophet, do not make a sufficient subject for a novel. At all events, as treated by Miss Murfree, the result is almost more like a series of short stories, in which the same people figure. All the parts of the book are related to one another because they deal with one community, but they do not grow out of one another with that inevitable necessity of connection which is the final test of a firmly knit, workmanlike novel. *The Prophet of the Great Smoky Mountains* is extremely interesting, notably well written, and admirable in conception, but the author has still something to learn about construction.

What one chiefly enjoys in the work is its flavor. It would be difficult to name any fiction since Bret Harte's tales of California which smacks so strongly of the soil from which it springs. Of course dialect, that much-abused good thing, lends flavor, and all the people of this book speak in a dialect which no one but Miss Murfree herself in her earlier work has used. She employs it with a confidence and flexibility which is a talent in itself. But the characters would be clear and positive individualities without the factitious aid of their strange speech. Though the peculiar people of the region Miss Murfree has, for literary purposes, discovered are much alike in their general characteristics (and we are made to feel this) they are discriminated with excellent skill. This is difficult. Thomas Hardy and George Eliot, in their studies of peasant folk, are the only English novelists, occurring to the writer at the moment, who have accomplished it with notable success; and Miss Murfree's mountaineers are on the whole more interesting than these peasants. Their talk abounds with the sort of shrewd and caustic humor which George Eliot puts into the mouths of her lowly people in such abundance;

and their actions spring from the natural untutored human impulses, with a refreshing directness and vigor. They are really more virile creations, though a woman's handiwork, than most of the characters set forth by men writers of current novels.

In her anxiety for flavor and local color Miss Murfree piles up her descriptions of the Great Smoky Mountains rather appallingly. A good third of the book is made up of pure descriptive writing, and this is a heavy load to saddle on a three-hundred-page novel. At first the scenic drawing does give flavor; but it palls. Imagine a pudding all flavor; or, agree that jelly-cake is well enough in its way, one may come to feel in time that the recurrence of the layers of jelly is a thought too regular. A page of description follows two pages of dialogue with distressing certainty. One grows tired of it. He would be glad, after a while, if Miss Murfree would allow him to set his own scenes, and longs for a severe drouth of "opalescent tints," "translucent hazes," "poetic glammers," and "golden-burnished blades of new moons." It seems captious to quarrel with Miss Murfree about these descriptions, for in their way it is hard to fancy anything better; but the young novelist has no more necessary lesson to learn than that no good thing is good enough to warrant infidelity to his main purpose: the making of a symmetrical novel.

A young man writing under the pseudonym of Sidney Luska, has given us as his first work a story called *As it was Written*, and it has achieved some success. If the writer made the book with the purpose of getting it talked about, he made it ingeniously. But from any other point of view it is an ill-balanced work. It has distinct power and grasp; and no one can refuse to enjoy the swift, dramatic conduct of the story. No more absorbing narrative has been offered of late, unless we except Hugh Conway's rather cheap but well-contrived sensation, *Called Back*. This alone would give it a popular lift, for, as a certain class of critics make haste to inform us on the publication of a book like this, "After all, the people like a story of the good old-fashioned sort." No

doubt the number of those whose thirst for a new excitement is stronger than their craving for rounded art is not much diminished by the fact that several writers have of late set up shops for the production of rounded art, and that it is to be had of any bookseller at a reasonable price. But one would think these persons must demand a certain sanity even in a "good old-fashioned story;" and Mr. Luska's book decidedly lacks sanity.

The narrative deals with the passionate love of the story-teller for a beautiful Jewess, who is strangely murdered in the early chapters, with his desolation following her loss—it is an uncommonly desolate sort of desolation for it leads him to renounce his calling as a teacher of the violin for the life of a waiter in a German beer-saloon—and with his discovery (after being tried for the girl's murder and acquitted) that, after all, he had killed her, and never knew it! This is as startling an outcome for a tale as the oldest old-fashioned story could furnish. It is explained in the new-fashioned way, —supernaturally. No one would ever guess how he chanced to murder his betrothed wife unaware, so Mr. Luska tells us.

And yet the explanation, when one is in possession of it, is simplicity itself. It was one of those chance affairs. The father of the narrator, it appears, cherished a grudge against the father of this same girl, and years after his death the narrator finds a letter from his father informing him that he will always be with his son in spirit, insisting upon his murdering the man against whom he has this grudge, or his nearest descendant. It has happened that the girl, with whom the narrator falls in love, was the exact person whom his father wished abolished (as the original grudgee is already dead); and though at the time of the murder the narrator knew nothing about this, he learns afterward, in a most remarkable trance, that he has done just the right thing unconsciously. That is where the chance came in. The spirit of the father, by an interesting coincidence, urged the son to commit this murder, jump at the moment when the house was clear, and no one would know, and to complete the happiness of the

chance, the son himself does not know. All this is certainly very curious, but it is not what we have a right to expect from a conscientious novelist. In sober fact, a writer has no right to conduct the reader through a series of griefs and terrors in which all the people and scenery are of the earth, and when the complications have become difficult of earthly solution to spring a supernatural solution upon him. Such a fashion of untying the knot of a story is an affront to the reader; the knot was, after all, only a sleight-of-hand knot, he sees, in his disillusionment, and the untying is only a magician's trick, and a shabby one. Mr. Luska has genuine power and talent, and it is a pity he should pervert it to such uses. There is no solid success to be won by work like this, and the curiosity which it may excite in its day is no recommendation to posterity. The writer has called his book *As it was Written*, as if willing to disclaim responsibility for it. Before he gives us another work it is to be hoped that he will perceive that this was as it ought not to have been written.

There is good, and, on the whole, agreeable work in George Fleming's *Andromeda*. The writer is remembered for her clever *Kismet* and *Mirage*, as well as for her later novels, *Vestigia* and *The Head of Medusa*. It is hard, however, to imagine why she has chosen to exercise her talent upon so hopelessly trite a subject as that which is the basis of the plot of *Andromeda*. Surely we have heard to satiety the story of how a man steals away the heart of his friend's mistress. George Fleming cherishes, in common with a number of others, a magnificent contempt for the methods of Messrs. Howells and James; but she seems to share Mr. Howells's well-known belief that "the stories are all told." They may be, but the writer of *Andromeda* cannot presume upon the hypothesis so successfully as Mr. Howells, for her style, her theory, her ideas of the novel demand a story. Only something new and strange to tell can justify George Fleming's methods. *Andromeda* is not in any strict sense a novel of manners nor a novel of character. It ought

then, at least, to have the romantic compensation of a striking plot. But in its place we have the threadbare device of posing a cripple (to whom a young girl has, mistaking pity for love, betrothed herself) against his stalwart friend, who finds that he loves another's affianced wife, and that other his friend, and discovers that she returns his love. In its essentials this story has been told so often that no art can make it seem fresh. In *Andromeda* we feel the hot breath of real passion, and there is a vividness and genuineness about the feelings of all the people made known to us which does much toward rendering the book interesting; a decently managed love-story, however hackneyed, seems always to be that. But we are constantly beset in reading *Andromeda* with an impatience of the twice-told tale, foreseeing the end with annoying clearness from the beginning.

Apart from this, and from a certain carelessness in construction and looseness of style, the light play of a serious philosophy, the skilful and continent use of a genuine descriptive faculty, and the successful encompassing of the work with an atmosphere of romantic feeling are as agreeable as one could wish.

WOLCOTT BALESTIER.

THE THEORY OF MARRIAGE AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

Husband and Wife ; or, The Theory of Marriage and its Consequences. By GEORGE ZABRISKIE GRAY, D.D., Dean of the Theological School in Cambridge. With an introduction by the Rt. Rev. F. D. HUNTINGTON, D.D., Bishop of Central New York. Second Edition. Boston : Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1885.

DEAN GRAY, it would appear, is in sympathy with the radical movement in England to legalise marriage with a deceased wife's sister. His essay is an ingenious attempt to defend the connection on the ground of Holy Scripture and the law of nature. We are bound, at the very outset, to take exception to the assumption on which the Dean's plea for introducing this vexed question among ourselves is based. We do not for a single moment admit that marriage with a deceased wife's sister is an open question among us. We do not grant the premises with which the writer starts, that the Protestant Episcopal Church in America has no law on the subject, and that she has the right, if she chooses, to make a law which shall legalise a connection which the whole Church, East and West, has stamped as incestuous. The American Church, as a branch of the Church Catholic, is bound by the fundamental law of the Church universal. Her law on the subject of marriage is the law of the Church of England as set forth in her table of Degrees. It is not the English *Church* which is agitating this question of marriage to a deceased wife's sister, but the English Parlia-

ment, so far as it is controlled by men interested in the question on selfish grounds. The Anglican Episcopate to a man is united in resisting the agitation of the question. The American Church holds the same ground as the Anglican Church, and is bound by the same fundamental law of the Church Catholic.

We are in sympathy with the principle laid down by Dean Gray, that the argument *pro* or *con* does not depend upon isolated texts of Holy Scripture, but upon the primal law which governs the marriage relationship. Does *monogamy*, then, rest upon the law of nature or upon Divine revelation? Holy Scriptures answer the question in the first and second chapters of the Book of *Genesis*. Man, in the first chapter, appears among the animal creation, with mere distinction of sex, as the lower creatures. He is represented in the second chapter as placed in a condition above nature. He is to have access to the tree of life, on condition that he shall not eat of the tree of knowledge of good and evil. God revealed Himself to man in Paradise as a personal God, by the Angel of His Presence; not as Elohim, or world-matter, but as Jehovah-Elohim, the covenant God. The covenant relationship between God and man is to be maintained, not only by not eating of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, but also by putting a restraint upon the indulgence of the sexual appetite. The lower creatures may give themselves up to indiscriminate concubinage, but man, if he will remain in possession of the higher blessings conferred upon him, and dwell in the Divine Presence, must make *monogamy* the rule of his life. Marriage, in the Scriptural meaning of the word, accordingly, as held by the Church in all ages, is sacramental in its nature; it belongs not to the state of nature, but to a sphere of which the tree of knowledge and the tree of life were the covenant signs and symbols.

We are surprised to find that Dr. Gray, in his theory of marriage, makes no mention of this sacramental relation, as set forth in Holy Scripture, and seems to have little or no appreciation of it. We are bold to affirm that the sacred narrative points in the very opposite di-

rection from that which the theory of Dr. Gray would lead us. We read there that when God brought the animal world before Adam, to see what he would call them, "there was not found" among them all "an helpmeet for him." Man needed companionship, and he could not find it among the lower creatures. To supply the want, God made out of man himself a creature in all respects like unto himself, and gave her to the man as another self to act in the capacity of companion and friend. She was "bone of man's bone" and "flesh of man's flesh." Not a thing alien to man, like the lower creatures, but sprung from himself, and, like himself, endowed with a reasonable soul. Luther renders the Hebrew *Isha* by *Männin* (a female man), as in the old Latin we have *vira* from *vir*. Now, there is not in all this even the suggestion of the thought that the woman was created to be the inferior of the man, but just the opposite. The name *Ishah* from *Ish*, the declaration that among the creatures there was not found man's equal, the special creative act which, as in the case of man himself, was the token and sign of personal being;—all indicate that in the original creation the man and the woman were on an equality, and were formed for mutual love and companionship. It was not until after the Fall, according to Holy Scriptures, that the woman, as a punishment for her sin, was placed in a position of subjection to the man, and the man was permitted to rule over her.

What, then, is meant when it is said, in the original account of the marriage union, that the man and the woman are one flesh? The words of the inspired writer explain themselves. They are to the effect that as the woman, in joining the man, leaves father and mother, so the man also is to leave father and mother and cleave to his wife. The conjugal tie, whenever it is formed, is a repetition over again, to the end of time, of the original creative act. The man, in taking the woman to himself, makes, so to speak, a new beginning, which differs in kind altogether from the relation of parent and child, and becomes allied to his wife as Adam was united in sacramental bonds to the creature whom God formed specially for him, and

who differed from all the other creatures in the fact that she was "bone of his bone" and "flesh of his flesh." Now, we maintain that the inspired commentary which Moses gives us of the Divine act, when he says "Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife, and they twain shall be one flesh," is in direct contradiction to the interpretation which Dr. Gray puts on these words. It is not said that the woman shall leave her family (this is taken for granted), and become part and parcel of the man's family, or tribe, or clan, but it is said that the man shall leave his father and mother, as the woman has already left her father and mother, and both together shall enter upon a new relationship, which finds its fundamental law and expression in the act of the original creation, when the woman was taken out of the man to be his other self, his companion, and his help-meet.

The view of Dr. Gray, as he would himself seem to suspect, from the position he gives to "Ancient Customs" in his argument, is in reality the old Pagan notion based upon the law of nature, and is at variance with the earlier Scriptural as it is with the later Christian doctrine of marriage. The Christian Church has always held that the relations of the man to the kindred of the woman are the same as the relations of the woman to the kindred of the man. There is no difference. If it be true that in every true marriage the original law repeats itself, and the woman brought to the man to be his wife is, by virtue of that original law, bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh, then, *ex necessitate rei*, his wife's sister is his own sister, or the law has ceased to be of any effect. When it is objected that *affinity* does not rest upon the law of nature, we grant it. But we maintain also that *monogamy* does not rest upon the law of nature, but upon the sacramental mystery connected with the taking of the woman out of the side of man in Paradise. We have said that Dr. Gray does not seem to appreciate the sacramental significance of the Divine act, and we have based our conclusion upon his own words. When speaking of the woman as taken out

of the side of the man, he adds, "whatever that may mean." S. Paul tells us what it does mean; and Dr. Gray, in his sixth chapter, accepts the explanation of S. Paul as satisfactory. But he seeks to evade [p. 45] the conclusion to which the words of the Apostle manifestly lead. We would ask Dr. Gray how he proposes to reconcile with his theory the words of the same Apostle [1 *Corinthians* vi. 15-16], when, in speaking of the sin of fornication as a sin against a man's body, S. Paul asks, "Shall I then take the members of CHRIST, and make them the members of an harlot? What! know ye not that which is joined to an harlot is one body? for two, saith he, shall be one flesh." If words have any meaning, it is not the harlot that is one flesh with the man, but the man that is one flesh with the harlot.

It will be seen, then, that the argument against marriage with a deceased wife's sister does not rest upon the isolated and much disputed text,—*Leviticus* xxiii. 18. The general principle which pervades the enactments of that whole chapter, "that the law applies to the female as well as to the male, changing what needs to be changed," is sufficient to cover the case. The argument of Dean Gray, as we have proved, does not affect this principle. But there are moral grounds, in addition to the argument from Scripture, which, in my judgment, are absolutely convincing. If it was a thing from which nature itself revolted, that a mother (as was sometimes the case among the Egyptians and Persians, who were accustomed to marry their own children) might have her last days embittered by the thought that her end was desired in order that her own daughter might take her place as a wife, it is surely not less a thing to be abhorred that a sister, as has not infrequently been the case, should be compelled during her lifetime to witness the growth of an affection which only waits for her own death to reach its consummation. Kalisch, Jew and Rationalist though he be, has already disposed of the theory of Dean Gray. "It is impossible," he says, in his Commentary on *Leviticus*, "to accede to the rule that 'whereas the wife becomes incorporated into the family of the husband,

husband is not incorporated into the family of the
e ; his relations become her relations, but her rela-
is do not become his relations.' This may be true
n the social and civil, but it is not true from the Eth-
and religious points of view, and it is the latter which
inly underlie the Levitical laws of matrimony."

THOMAS RICHEY.

CURRENT LITERATURE.

Tuscan Cities, by W. D. HOWELLS. Boston : Ticknor & Co.

THIS sumptuous volume is put forth in time for the Christmas season; but it has decidedly more weight and value than commonly attaches to specimens of holiday book-making. Mr. Howells, if he were not supreme as novelist, would occupy a position as a writer of books of travel second to that of very few. As fame first sought him out because of work in this field, it is graceful and appropriate that he should from time to time return to it, and in this instance he has made a distinct addition to the literature of foreign travel. His subject has been bethumbed and dog's-eared until it is as worn as an old lesson book. We all know Florence and the Italian cities by heart, whether we have visited them or no; and nothing but a singular freshness and keenness of observation, coupled with a style of very especial charm, could revivify interest in, or excuse a new book about, them. But Mr. Howells is easily one of the closest observers who lends his pen to the picturing of objects of travellers' enterprise, and his style, as everyone knows, is not merely "its own excuse for being," but excuse enough for the being of any creation which he chooses to illumine with it.

The author of *Tuscan Cities* sees them for the second time, and does not come to them with the same zest which inspired him upon his first visit, and this he constantly admits to the reader. But he does not allow that the zest is less, though not the same; and is not disposed to quarrel with his feeling, whatever it is.

The reminiscent tone in travel-books has not a tendency to fasten the reader's sympathy; but Mr.

Howells takes it in a frank and genial spirit which wins upon one unconsciously. Indeed, his attitude, as in *Venetian Days*, *Italian Journeys*, *Their Wedding Journey*, and *A Chance Acquaintance*, is that of a travelling comrade, commenting lightly, but acutely, upon the sights which you and he are seeing together. A book journey made in Mr. Howells' company leaves one with the agreeable impressions which come of journeys made with an amiable and observant friend, and this is certainly as nearly the perfection of literary travel as may be.

Venetian Life, and some of the other books mentioned, in spite of their great charm, had an effect not wholly pleasant. It arose, if one must try to define it, from the author's shamefacedness about his own honest sentiment, and a habit which he early contracted of throwing cold water upon himself when found lapsing into a bit of genuine feeling.

The habit has grown upon him, but it has been mellowed and softened in its effect by the enrichment of his art. In the earlier books sentiment came naturally to his pen, and it would always have been delightful if it had not been rallied the moment after. He felt it right to mask it then, and now there is not so much to mask. What we feel in such a work as *Tuscan Cities* is that the writer has lost most of his sentiment and all of his illusions. He used to compassionate his own touches of natural feeling; now he compassionates the reader's. The spirit which seems to be at work in Mr. Howells in these days is not cynicism—no one is further from it—nor even a gentle pessimism, though that more nearly describes it, but a curious inclination toward shrugging his shoulders at his own impressions, and (in his novels) at his own people, so that all his work is vaguely discredited by the absence of a deep seriousness of treatment.

As to *Tuscan Cities*, this lack is in the atmosphere of the book, not exactly in the book itself; and it does not touch the literary quality of the volume, which is incomparably delicate and fine.

The publishers have done much for the work, and as

an example of book-making it does credit to the new and already prosperous firm of Ticknor & Co. Joseph Pennell, with some assistance from Van Schaick and others, furnishes the illustrations. Mr. Pennell's work is most admirable. Whether in the dusky etchings which render merely effect, or in the clear, firm drawings which with a few simple lines reproduce the scene to the eye so charmingly, they are such accompaniments of the text as one could wish ; and this is saying much.

The Sermon on the Mount. With an Introduction by EDWARD EVERETT HALE, D.D. One Royal Quarto Volume. Illustrated. Boston : Roberts Brothers.

THIS is truly a *Royal Quarto Volume*, and we wish it was in our power to give a true idea of it as a work of Art and *Religious Study*, for such it is. Like Mr. Howells' *Tuscan Cities*, it is of far greater value than merely a beautiful book to sell during the holiday season.

The cover has an elaborate design, with a picture of the great Preacher stamped in gold. The complete Bible text of the Sermon on the Mount is beautifully engrossed and engraved ; most of the pages have decorative borders, and the volume is printed on satin-finished paper and bound in cloth (\$7.50) and Morocco Antique and Tree Calf (\$15). It is a most perfect specimen of what is now called the book-maker's art.

The Rev. Edward Everett Hale, D.D., contributes an historical introduction that is most interesting and instructive. He describes Mount Kürûn Hattin, or the Mount of the Beatitudes, as it is sometimes called, and surrounding country. The added historic interest with which the Crusades surround the Mount is also alluded to.

Twenty-seven illustrations by Harry Fenn, H. Sandham, F. S. Church, W. St. John Harper, W. L. Taylor, J. H. Fraser, and F. B. Schell form a commentary on the text more worthy of study and reflection than any we have ever read. All the scenes are Oriental but that by Mr. Church, which is not in keeping with the subject

: in harmony with the other work done. We do not criticise the execution of it, but even the accomplished artist must know that "Blessed are they that are persecuted for righteousness' sake" could be much more appropriately illustrated than by a mother with her infant in her arms hiding in a North American forest from pursuing savages. With this exception, "all the interpretations are harmonious in disclosing that which lies at the heart of the teaching." The *Borders*, the work of Mr. Sidney L. Smith, will be a delightful surprise to all who may see them. Never before has such a triumph of richness and variety been achieved by any artist. It would be impossible to give any adequate description of them.

If but one book can be purchased to mark this Christmas-tide, we advise that it be this *SERMON ON THE MOUNT*.

Popular Manual of English Literature, with Historical, Scientific, and Art Notes. By MAUDE GILLETTE PHILLIPS. 2 vols. New York: Harper & Brothers.

OUR interest in manuals is not of a positive character. We have been led to regard them, ordinarily, with some suspicion, both as to their construction and profit. Too often they are marrowless and fragmentary compilations, showing little appreciation of the department of knowledge which they profess to represent, and calculated to mislead as to the object or true end of study. By reason of their meagre information and their disjointed statements the young minds with which they come into contact are in danger of being disabled for logical or philosophic investigation, and made averse to continuous, specific, and symmetrical culture.

This work is exceptionally good. It is free from the faults we have designated, and shows a steady design to awaken and gratify a taste for literature. We regard it as conceived and elaborated upon a true method, and we are confident that its use will be followed by good results in the way of precise and available knowledge and of educational development. The writer's aim is to

give a simple philosophical survey of the growth of English Literature. This is accomplished by a broad characterisation, *seriatim*, of ten ages, the period of its historic development, as a preliminary condition to the more minute study of the representative writers of each division. By this treatment the masterpieces of English literature are subjected to a close analytical and psychological study, so that the spirit of the age and of the author is revealed, and we can appreciate the environments and discover the vital principles that wrought *in* and *through* genius.

Literary anatomy is a difficult and delicate process. Very few, even advanced students, are competent to the work, and hence æsthetic criticism has opened a broad and inviting field for expert labor. As a consequence, some of the highest achievements of intellect may be found among the critics of the last half-century, and many a dead *littérateur*, from Chaucer downward, has been disinterred, from a forgotten grave, embalmed by friendly hands, and decorated with kingly honors for the admiration of the ages. Scarcely a representative writer of any age in English literature is unaccompanied in this manual by an admirable and scholarly notice from a writer whose fame is established.

But the work has more than the merits to be looked for in a manual. As a book of reference it has rare excellence. Its periodic divisions and historic outlines, its well-selected passages of æsthetic criticism, and its charts of contemporary sovereigns, literati, philosophers, scientists, painters, and sculptors will afford helpful aid to all literary investigators. Again, its list of authorities quoted in the work, and its full index, will facilitate labor and prove a welcome thesaurus even to the advanced student.

Principles of Political Economy. By SIMON NEWCOMB, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of Mathematics, U. S. Navy; Professor in the Johns Hopkins University. Pp. xvi-548. New York: Harper & Brothers.

THIS is a work of high order. Its philosophic and logical methods, and its calm discussion of rudimentary

or elemental principles lift it out of the category of ordinary theses on political economy. There is no bias perceptible in the author that looks to a foregone conclusion through a vast display of scholarly research and masterful argument. His object is to investigate in "dry light," look for results that may be classified scientifically and regarded as facts established, and then make advances into new territory. He regards much of the confusion and uncertainty characteristic of the investigations in this field as arising from the isolated and fragmentary treatment of topics. His method is based on a conception of scientific unity attainable by close observation and investigation of all the factors that enter into the study.

The first four books of the volume are devoted to an investigation of principles, the definitions of the terms of economic science, the exposition of adopted fallacies, the elucidation of the topics included in such studies, viz.: Wealth, Capital, Labor, Rent, Population, etc., their inter-relations, and their mutual modifying influences.

In the fifth book the scientific and practical sides of questions that comprise public policy are presented, so that the student may see the application of first principles and assure himself of his mastery of a science of economy.

The whole work is characterised by patient thought, close observation, and incisive statement. Its rudimentary quality is its chief excellence as an educational agency, and is calculated to provoke a review of much of the stereotyped and accepted literature on the subject.

Christ and Christianity. By the Rev. PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D. p. —
New York : Charles Scribner's Sons.

STUDIES on Christology, Creeds, and Confessions, Protestantism and Romanism, Reformation Principles, Sunday Observance, Religious Freedom, and Christian Union. By PHILIP SCHAFF. 8vo, pp. 310. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1885.

WE have here another volume from the prolific pen of

Dr. Schaff. As its title indicates, it embraces a great variety of subjects, and is mostly made up of articles or addresses already published in other forms, but containing also some new and important matter. The Introduction [pp. 1-22] is Dr. Schaff's inaugural address in the Union Theological Seminary, October, 1871. The Conclusion [pp. 292-310], "*The Discord and Concord of Christendom*," is his address before the Evangelical Alliance at Copenhagen, September, 1884. Besides these the volume contains [pp. 128-134] an address on "*The Principles of the Reformation*," at the Union Theological Seminary, November, 1883; one [pp. 153-183] on "*The Consensus of the Reformed Confessions*," read at "The First General Presbyterian Council, Edinburgh," July, 1877; an address in German [pp. 213-239] at a meeting at the Cooper Institute in New York, October, 1859, of Germans chiefly, for the promotion of the observance of Sunday; an Essay [pp. 240-275] on "*The Christian Sabbath*," read before the "National Sabbath Convention," Saratoga, 1863; and an article reprinted from the *North American Review* for April, 1884, occupying pp. 276-291. The parts which are not marked as having been printed before are *Christological Studies*, pp. 23-123 (with four pages added on *Protestantism and Romanism*); *Creeds and Confessions of Faith* [pp. 135-152]; and *Slavery and the Bible* [pp. 184-212]. The first of these is much the longer, and will naturally attract more of interest and attention. It is divided into two parts: the first is "an apologetic Essay," entitled, "CHRIST His own best witness," and is a valuable and concise statement that the CHRIST of the Gospels can only be accounted for by accepting the truth of the portraiture.

The second division contains a succinct but singularly clear history of "Christology" in the Ante-Nicene period, the period of the Councils, and in the Post-Chalcedonian ages. This is followed by a review of the views upon the subject of various Protestant bodies, and of several eminent individual writers. The author's position may be gathered from the following passages on p. 67:

These are serious difficulties and defect in the Chalcedonian Christology, and call for such a reconstruction or improvement as will conform it to the historical realness of CHRIST's humanity, to the full meaning of His own sayings concerning Himself, and to all the facts of his Life. . . . At the same time the Chalcedonian dogma is the ripest fruit of the Christological speculations and controversies of the ancient Church, and can never lose its value. It gave the clearest expression to the faith in the Incarnation for ages to come. It saves the full idea of the God-man as to the essential elements, however imperfect the philosophical form in which it is cast. It defines with sound religious judgment the boundary line which separates Christological truth from Christological error. It guards us against two opposite dangers—the Scylla of Nestorian dualism, and the Charybdis of Eutychian Monophysitism, or against an abstract separation of the Divine and human, and an absorption of the human by the Divine. It excludes also every kind of mixture of the two natures, which would result in a being that is neither human nor Divine.

The book is an instructive one, and may be read with profit, especially by the young theologian ; though it is not necessary to agree with the author in all his positions.

The Proofs of Christ's Resurrection ; from a Lawyer's Standpoint. By C. R. MORRISON. Pp. 155. Andover : W. F. Draper.

It is now nearly forty years since *The Testimony of the Four Evangelists* was put forth by Dr. Simon Greenleaf. That was an important work, because written by an eminent lawyer, accustomed to weigh human testimony. But as each generation has its own characteristics, and its own general literature, so it needs to have presented afresh the evidences of religion in its own mould. This is excellently well done in the little book of Mr. Morrison. He writes as a lawyer, he looks at the testimony as a lawyer, and he comes to a lawyer's conclusion.

The book consists of twenty short chapters, followed by two very full indices. The plan is, after a couple of preliminary chapters, to start with the testimony of Justin Martyr, and after having examined and sifted this, to follow back the "Memoirs" of which he speaks to their source. Then follows a chapter on the "Integrity of the Gospels," and another on "The Credibility of the Evangelists," and then the testimony of the Apocalypse

and of the Four unquestioned epistles of S. Paul is considered. Our LORD's predictions concerning Himself are next taken up, then the "order of events," and finally, two chapters are devoted to the "Sufficiency of the proofs," with a closing one on the "Logical results." In examining the testimony of antiquity, the author has hampered himself by refraining from all use of the Epistles of Ignatius, because they are disputed, but he has, nevertheless, presented a forcible and convincing book, and one calculated to be of great use, especially to legal minds.

The Light of Asia and the Light of the World. A comparison of the Legend, of the Doctrine, and the Ethics of the Buddha, with the Story, the Doctrine, and the Ethics of CHRIST. By S. H. KELLOGG, D.D., Professor in the Western Theological Seminary. Pp. 372. London and New York : Macmillan & Co.

WHATEVER pricks the very brilliant bubble blown by Edwin Arnold and others is to be admired, provided it is done effectually. We can say for Professor Kellogg that he has thoroughly accomplished his end. He has done so by two points in particular which he has thoroughly made out. One of these is to overthrow the imaginary historical dependence of Christianity upon Buddhism, and the other is to demolish the ethical likeness fancied to exist between the two. He dwells expressly upon the fact that the coincidence of ethical language may be where there is the strongest variation in moral meaning. Thus, the virtue of a Spartan youth whipped to death rather than confess a theft and the virtue of a Christian martyr may bear the same name. So with the chastity of a Shaker devotee and a Christian matron. So with the Buddhist renunciation of the world and S. Paul's idea of the same. The translation of Hindu or Sanscrit terms into correspondent English often carries no similarity of idea. Charity, for example, is by no means the charity of 1 *Corinthians* xiii. Piety is not the word which Christians accept. Purity is as far from the New Testament idea, as the Pharisees' thought from the SAVIOUR's teaching.

We consider this work deserves a careful study, for it

has a conclusive answer to all the vague sentimentalism of the modern glorifying of Oriental theology. Dr. Kellogg has had the advantage of years of Indian missionary life and knows the sense which the Hindu puts upon the words which sound so fairly in European ears. His honesty and learning are beyond all question, and his book is a timely gift.

The Life of the Buddha and the Early History of his Order, derived from Thibetan Works in the Bkah-Hgyur and Bstan-Bgyur, followed by Notices on the Early History of Thibet and Khoten. Translated by W. WOODVILLE ROCKHILL, Second Secretary of U. S. Legation in China. Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co. Pp. 269.

WE cannot advise anyone to read this work unless with a conscientious purpose. If one desires to know how puerile, tedious, and poor the real Buddhism is, he can assuredly find that out in these pages. These legends are to the lovely Greek myths as the grotesque carvings of Hindu temples are to the Apollo Belvidere and the Venus of Milo. There is all the childish exaggeration of numbers which marks Oriental literature, and none of the beauty of fancy which touches the heart as one reads the Scandinavian legends. The great triumphant hymn which certain English poets have sought to intone to the religions of the East comes to naught when one contemplates the bare reality as here exposed. As for any comparison with Semitic literature, and especially with that of the Hebrew Scriptures, the one is not to be named in the same day with the other. There is no shadow of resemblance. It may be said that here is the Thibetan and corrupted form of the Hindu idea, but it is hardly possible that a degraded version could show so little of a lofty original. The Koran borrows from the New Testament, but the source is easily discovered, and the Koran is a book of light contrasted with the ineffable silliness of this story of Gautama.

Eight Studies of the Lord's Day, pp. 282. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co.

IN the anonymous volume published under the above title we find a novel mode of discussing the Sunday question, and one, withal, which will commend itself to

most minds as decidedly in advance of anything which has yet appeared on this topic.

The writer takes certain recognised facts as he finds them, and points his readers to what he considers their natural and inevitable antecedents. His reasonings are clear and forcible, and, in general, compel assent to his conclusions. He attacks no theories, argues no vexed questions, as such; quarrels with no man's views, but rather seeks to place in their proper light, as bearing upon the general subject, such facts and phenomena as are patent to all and denied by none. For example, as bearing upon the question of whether the origin of this institution is human or Divine, he considers, in the first study, the actual phenomena exhibited in its observance throughout the world at present. Those phenomena are well-nigh universal, and certainly evident to all.

There is no doubt in any man's mind as to the radical difference between this day, *without regard to its religious aspect*, and all others of the seven, a difference which, perforce, has more or less effect upon the actions of every individual; to quote:

This first day of the week lies athwart every man's path, and whatever he may wish or intend, he is compelled to adjust his steps to the social fact, or to remove beyond all social intercourse.

It is an *institution* of society which no one can avoid recognising in some way.

The phenomena which characterise the day as one of festival and unusual social privilege to all classes, whether they be religious or not, are next dwelt upon; and finally, the more restricted phenomena connected with its observance as a religious day. In this connection the most striking feature presented is that among all its variations in doctrine and practice, on this point alone Christendom is practically united. Powerful indeed must have been the force of that tradition (if tradition *alone* it was) which served to impose so universal an observance upon the Christian world, since in nothing else does it maintain even an approximation to this degree of unity. An institution so universally accepted

and observed would indicate an origin in something more than mere Christian *sentiment*; and this origin the author discusses in the second study.

This is a review of the records of its observation preserved in the New Testament. In regard to these records the author premises that the silence of Scripture is often to be regarded as equally important with its utterances; that the *practice* of the Apostles was as much a following of the guidance of the HOLY SPIRIT as their words, and that the utterances of Scripture are explained by other voices and by the general voice of Scripture.

From a careful consideration of the references to the "first day of the week" subsequent to the Resurrection, it would appear that our Blessed LORD by His visible acts, if not by His words, taught the disciples to associate this day in an especial manner with himself, by remaining invisible on all other days, and appearing to them only on the "first day of the week." Thus we may regard the establishment of its regular observance as one of His personal acts.

In consequence of the aspect in which the day was thus presented, the disciples seem to have taken up its observance naturally and as a matter of course. But as this was a change from established custom, and one of great importance, we would naturally look for some more definite explanation or command, in the New Testament itself, in regard to it, unless it were something to be looked for as a *natural outgrowth* of what had already been written in the Jewish Scriptures.

If this were the case, if the Old Testament pointed to this change or development as an accompaniment to the new dispensation of the Messiah, then the silence of the New Testament in regard to the change would not be unnatural.

Such teaching and prophecy the author proceeds to consider. "The week" is first presented to us, and shown to be an *arbitrary* division of time totally unlike all others which depend upon natural laws—its determination resting solely upon a day of religious observance marks it as of Divine origin, and its recognition by

man as a confession of allegiance from the creature to the Creator.

The sacred day which marks the boundary of this distinctively Divine division of time is shown to have passed through three stages of *development*. With two of these, the Jewish Sabbath and the LORD's Day, we are more familiar than with the third, which covers the long period between the Creation and the establishment of the Jewish Sabbath. That the week was limited by a sacred day during this period the author shows in the fourth study, using largely the narrative of Noah and the Ark to establish his position.

In the next two studies the development of the Jewish Sabbath and the entire sabbatical system is fully considered, and the conclusion drawn that it was intended to teach its own incompleteness and its character of a preparatory institution for something more perfect to follow. That the LORD's Day is both a natural and a necessary outgrowth and development, or rather fulfilment, of this sabbatic system, is most admirably argued in the seventh study.

The *first* day of the week, as the *great* day of religious observance, marking the boundary of the week, is shown to be fully set forth in the Year of Jubilee, which was the crowning glory of the sabbatic system, but which *began* a new series of sevens and did not end the old.

The permanent and the transient in the Mosaic system is carefully separated, and the conclusion reached that the institution of the Jewish Sabbath *could not* have been continued under a dispensation intended to expand its influences beyond the limits of Palestine, and eventually to embrace all nations on the face of the earth.

The whole of this excellent argument is rounded up and completed in the final study, which summarises the preparations and prophecies of the LORD's Day to be found in the Jewish sabbatic system; and in conclusion discusses the application of the Fourth Commandment, showing that in spirit it is more thoroughly observed in the Christian LORD's Day than it ever was, or ever could be, in the Sabbath of the Jews.

THE CHURCH REVIEW.

VOL. XLVII.—APRIL, 1886.—No. CLXI.

THE BOOK ANNEXED: ITS CRITICS AND ITS PROSPECTS.

II.

THE *Book Annexed* may be said to hold to the possible standard Common Prayer of 1890 a relation unlike that of a clay model to the statue which is to be. The material is still in condition to be moulded; the end is not yet. It was in anticipation of this state of things that the friends of revision in 1883 were anxious to carry through the preliminary stage of acceptance as many of their propositions as possible. To revert to our marble, the modeller, in treating the face of his provisional image, must be careful to lay on clay enough, or may find himself barred at the last moment from giving the features just that finishing touch which is to make them ready for the marble. All the skill in the world will not enable him to secure for the face precisely the expression he would have it wear, if the *materia* be sufficient. Looked at in this light, the suggestion made by the Joint Committee in the House of Deputies in an early stage of the session of 1883, that the entire *Book Annexed*, in precisely the form in which it had been submitted, should be passed, and sent down to the dioceses for consideration, instead of being the arbitrary and unreasonable demand it was reckoned by those who tied their eyebrows at the very mention of such a thing, is really a sensible proposition, which the Convention could have done well to heed. Few, if any, critics of the *Book Annexed* as modified have pronounced it an

improvement on the *Book Annexed* as presented. The Book came out of the Convention less admirable than it went in. As a school of Liturgics, the long debate at Philadelphia was doubtless salutary and helpful, but whether the immediate results, as shown in the emendation of the Joint Committee's work, were equally deserving of praise is another question. Nevertheless, as was argued in the paper of which this one is the continuation, we must take things as we find them, not as we wish they were; and since there is no other method of liturgical revision known to our laws than revision by popular debate, to revision by popular debate we must reconcile ourselves as best we may. Regrets are idle. Let us be thankful that the amicable struggle at Philadelphia had for its outcome so large rather than so small a mass of workable material, and instead of accounting the *Book Annexed* to be what one of the signers of the Joint Committee's Report has lately called it, "a melancholy production," recognise in it the germ of something exceedingly to be desired. From the first there has never been any disposition on the part of sober-minded friends of Revision to carry through their scheme "with a rush." The delay that is likely to better things they will welcome; the only delay they deprecate is the delay that kills.

The changes enumerated in the *Notification to the Dioceses*, and illustrated to the eye in the *Book Annexed*, may be broadly classified under the following heads:—

(a.) Clearly desirable alterations, with respect to which there is practically unanimous consent, and for which there is immediate demand, *e. g.* shortened offices of week-day prayer.

(b.) Alterations desirable in the main, but likely to be more cordially acquiesced in, could still further improvement be secured, *e. g.* the new versicles introduced into Evening Prayer after the Creed.

(c.) Alterations generally accounted undesirable on any terms, *e. g.* the permissive rubrics with respect to the reading of certain psalms, during Lent, instead of the regular responds to the First and Second Lessons of the

Evening Prayer. The question arises, Is any course of action possible that will give us without delay the changes which for some fifteen years the whole Church has been laboring to secure; that will give us, with a reasonable delay of three years longer, the confessed improvements a little more improved; while at the same time we are kept from becoming involved in the wretched confusion sure to result from putting into circulation, within a brief period, two authorised but diverse Books of Common Prayer? This threefold question it is proposed to meet with a threefold affirmative.

THE STANDARD PRAYER BOOK OF 1890.

The end we ought to have in view is the publication, in the year 1890, of a standard Book of Common Prayer, such as shall embody the ripe results of what will then have been a period of ten years of continuous labor in the work of liturgical revision. To this reckoning of ten years should properly be added the seventeen years that intervened between the presentation of the "Memorial" in 1853 and the passing of the "Enrichment Resolutions" in 1880: so that really our Revision would look back for its historical beginnings, not across a decade merely, but over almost the lifetime of a generation. No single one of the various revisions of the English Book has observed anything like so leisurely a movement.

But by what methods of legislative procedure could such a result as the one indicated be reached? The precedent of the last century does not help us very much. The American Book of Common Prayer was set forth on the 16 day of October in the year of our Lord 1789; but with an express statutory provision that the "use" of the Book, as so set forth, should not become obligatory till the 1 day of October, 1790. We cannot copy this line of procedure, for the simple reason that no such undertaking as that of 1789 is in hand. It is not now proposed to legislate into existence a new Liturgy. The task before us is the far humbler one of passing judgment upon certain propositions of change, almost every

one of which admits of segregation, has an independent identity of its own, and may be accepted or rejected wholly without reference to what is likely to happen to the other propositions that accompany it.*

The *Book Annexed* is in no proper sense a "Proposed Book," nor can it, without misrepresentation, be called such; it is simply a sample publication † illustrative of what the Book of Common Prayer would be, were all the Resolutions of Revision that passed their first stage of approval in 1883 carried into final effect; a result most unlikely to occur.

But although the conditions of 1886 are thus markedly dissimilar to those of 1789, it is quite as desirable now as it was then, to avoid the confusion certain to result from two sets of alterations very close to one another in time. Again the question forces itself forward, Will it be a possible thing to put into effect a portion of the proposed alterations next October, with the intention of putting a certain other portion into effect three years later, and yet save the mind of the Church from the perplexity and annoyance which the mere suggestion of two sets of changes occasions?

With some diffidence the following solution of the problem is put forward, to be discussed by those whose

* The following brief argument from the pen of an accomplished canonist effectually disposes of the cry, "All or None," recently raised by a voice often listened to with profit and always with amusement.

"In the letter of Dr. J. H. Hopkins in the *Churchman* of February 27, 1886, the point is made that the adoption of the recommendations of the Committee of Conference—one of which recommendations was that the two Houses adopt Resolution I, II, III, etc., 'as one legislative act'—destroys the separate entity of each resolution, and 'runs the whole thing together in one solid lump, like the casting of a bell.'

"In the ordinary procedure of the Convention, when a series of substantive resolutions is reported by a Committee, a motion is made to adopt such resolutions (either separately or together), and the prevalence of such a motion carries with it the passage of the resolutions. The fact that the vote is taken on a number of resolutions at once does not impair the distinct individuality of the several resolutions. It condenses the voting, but not the resolutions voted on, into 'one legislative act.'

"The recommendation of the Committee of Conference was that Resolutions I, II, III, etc., with their 124 amendments as stated in detail, be adopted, and that action on the question of their adoption be taken by a single vote, rather than by 30 plus 124 separate votes. The manner of their provisional adoption was in accordance with this recommendation. The final adoption of these 'alterations and additions,' severally, is with the next Convention."

† In this respect the *Book Annexed* may be compared to the Convocation Prayer Book published by Murray in 1880, for the purpose of showing what the English Book would be like if "amended in conformity with the recommendations of the Convocations of Canterbury and York, contained in reports presented to her Majesty the Queen in the year 1879."

acquaintance with the constitutional history and the Canon law of the Church is more ample than the writer accounts his own to be.

Canon 19, Title I. of the Digest is entitled, *Of Publishing Editions of the Book of Common Prayer*. In this Canon it is provided that no edition of the Prayer Book shall be published unless it shall have been carefully compared with the standard edition, and the standard edition is declared to be that set forth by the General Convention in 1871. The last sub-section of the Canon reads as follows : —

The stereotyped plates of the said edition shall be in the custody of a Presbyter appointed by the General Convention, and no alteration, correction, or emendation of any sort in the said plates shall be made, except under the direction of the said Custodian, acting with the advice and consent of a Joint Committee appointed by the General Convention, consisting of two Bishops and two Presbyters ; and all alterations, corrections, and emendations thus made shall be reported by the said Custodian, in writing, to the next General Convention, and entered upon the journal of the House of Deputies.

From this Canon it would appear that no change can be made in what, for lack of a better phrase, we may name the Prayer Book of the Trade, until, in the case of any particular edition, the proof-sheets shall have been compared, line by line, with the pages of the standard of 1871. But more than this, no change may be made in the stereotyped plates of the standard edition, except by the Custodian, acting with the advice and consent of a Joint Committee ; but the office of Custodian, by the death of the late lamented Dr. Francis Harison, is now vacant, and if the Convention so wills, can for a time be left vacant, in which case no publisher would have it in his power lawfully to put into circulation any Prayer Books different from those already in use. In other words, the "Prayer Book of the Trade" would remain unaltered, even though the actual Prayer Book had undergone revision. Now, supposing the changes approved next October to be only such as would leave the responsive portions of the service unchanged, it is evident that no inconvenience would accrue to the worshippers from a temporary discrepancy between the actual Prayer Book

and the "Prayer Book of the Trade." We do not need new Prayer Books in order to enable the minister to begin the service on week days with the LORD'S Prayer, and to end it with the Third Collect. It is enough if the people generally are informed that such abbreviation has been made permissible by due authority. This reasoning holds good with respect to not a few of the alterations proposed. It will be perfectly possible for us to avail ourselves of the advantage of them without even the expedient of resorting to "printed slips," or "pasters," so called. Meanwhile, those features of the Revision that admit of improvement can be put into better shape and resubmitted to the Dioceses, with a view to final adoption in 1889. All that would then be needed to complete the work would be the appointment of a committee empowered to prepare and issue a standard Prayer Book, to be known as THE STANDARD OF 1890.

THE MEANS TO THE END.

The most expeditious and every way satisfactory means to the end that has now been defined would be the appointment, at an early stage of the session in October, of a Joint Committee of Conference. To this committee should be referred, —

(a.) The question: How many of the Resolutions of 1883, or of the "several recommendations therein contained," is it either practicable or desirable to approve at once?

(b.) The question: How many such of the Resolutions of 1883 as are too good to be lost, but not in their present form good enough to satisfy the Church, be so remodelled as to make their adoption probable in 1889?

(c.) All new propositions of improvement that may from time to time during the session be brought to the notice of the Convention, either by individual members or by memorials from Diocesan Conventions. Such a Committee of Conference, holding daily sessions of three or four hours each, would be able in due time to report a carefully digested scheme which could then be intelli-

gently discussed. By this method a flood of frivolous and aimless talk would be cut off without in the slightest degree infringing or limiting the real liberty of debate.

But even if the Convention were to show itself reluctant to give to a select committee so large a power as this of preparing an *agenda* paper, it still would be possible to refer to such a committee the subject-matter of so many of the resolutions as might chance, when put upon their passage, to fail by a narrow vote.

It is to be remembered that the various recommendations contained in the resolutions of 1883 are to be voted upon *in ipsissimis verbis*. There will be no opportunity for the familiar cry: "Mr. President, I rise to propose an amendment." The resolution, or the section of a resolution, as the case may be, will either be approved just as it stands, or condemned just as it stands. In this respect there will be an immense saving of time. Most of the tediousness of debate grows out of the natural disposition of legislators to try each his own hand at bettering the thing proposed; hence "amendments," "amendments to amendments," and substitutes for the amendment to the amendment. Even the makers of parliamentary law (much enduring creatures) lose their patience at this point, and peremptorily lay it down that confusion shall no further go.

But to return to our supposed case of a proposition lost because of some slight defect which, if only our Medo-Persian law had permitted an amendment, could easily have been remedied. Surely the sensible course in such a case as that would be to refer the subject-matter of the lost resolution to the Committee of Conference, with instructions to report a new resolution to be finally acted upon three years hence. So, then, whether there be given to the Committee of Conference either the large power to recommend a carefully thought-out way of dealing with all the material *en bloc*, or the lesser function of sitting in judgment on new propositions, and of remoulding rejected ones, in either case there could scarcely fail to result from the appointment of such a committee large and substantial gains.

IMPROVEMENTS.

It follows, from what has been said, that if there are features that admit of improvement in the proposals which the Convention has laid before the Church for scrutiny, now is emphatically the time for suggesting the better thing that might be done. Even the bitterest opponents of the *Book Annexed* can scarcely be so sanguine as to imagine that nothing at all is coming of this labored movement for revision. A measure which was so far forth acceptable to the accredited representatives of the Church, in council assembled, as to pass its first stage, three years ago, almost by acclamation, is not destined to experience total collapse. The law of probabilities forbids the supposition. The personal make-up of the next General Convention will be to a great extent identical with that of the last, and of the one before the last. Sober-minded men familiar with the work of legislation are not accustomed to reverse their own well-considered decisions without weighty cause. The strong probability is that something in the line of emendation, precisely how much or how little no one can say, will, as a matter of fact, be done. In view of this likelihood, would not those who are dissatisfied with the *Book Annexed* as it stands be taking the wiser course were they to substitute coöperative for vituperative criticism? So far as the present writer is in any sense authorised to speak for the friends of revision, he can assure the dissidents that such coöperation would be most welcome.

A. B., a scholar thoroughly familiar, we will suppose, with the sources of liturgical material, is dissatisfied with the Collects proposed for the successive days of Holy Week. Very well, he has a perfect right to his dissatisfaction and to the expression of it in the strongest terms at his command. He does only his plain duty in seeking to exclude from the Prayer Book anything that seems to him unworthy of a place in it. But seeing that he must needs, as a "liturgical expert," acknowledge that the deficiency which the Joint Committee sought to make good is a real and not a merely fancied defi-

; would not A. B. approve himself a more judicious fellow if, instead of bending all his energy to the improvement of the Collects proposed, he should devote a portion of it to the discovery and suggestion of more happily worded?

And this remark holds good with reference to whatever new feature is to be found between the covers of *Book Annexed*. If betterment be possible, these six which are now lying before us afford the time of all times rich to show how, with least of loss and most of gain, it may be brought about.

The Diocese of Maryland is first in the field with an adequate contribution of this sort. A thoroughly competent committee, appointed in October, 1884, has reprinted its Report, and whether the Diocesan Convention adopt, amend, or reject what is presented to it, can be little doubt that the mind of the Church will be perceptibly affected by what these representative men of Maryland have said. Apart from a certain aroma of omniscience pervading it (with which, by the way, sundry infelicities of language in the text of the report only indifferently consort), the document is a valuable one, and of great practical value.

The Committee have gone over the entire field covered by the *Notification to the Dioceses*, taking up the suggestions one by one and not only noting in connection with each whatever is in itself objectionable, but (a far more difficult task) suggesting in what respect that proposition might be better put. The *ap-
p-
us criticus* thus provided, while not infallible, is eminently helpful, sets a wholesome pattern, and if supported by others of like tenor and scope, will go far to lighten the labor of whatever committee may have a real recension of the whole work put into its hands. It would be a poor self-conceit in the framers of the *Annexed*, that should prompt them to resent any adverse criticism whatsoever. What we all have at heart is the bringing of our manual of worship as nearly possible to such a pitch of perfectness as the nature of things human will allow. The thing we seek is a Lit-

urgy which shall draw to itself everything that is best and most devout within our national borders, a Common Prayer suited to the common wants of all Americans. Whatever truly makes for this end, it will be our wisdom to welcome, whether those who bring it forward are popularly labelled as belonging to this, that, or the other school of Churchmanship. To allow party jealousies to mar the symmetry and fulness of a work in which all Churchmen ought to have an equal inheritance would be the worst of blunders. By all means let the raiment of needlework and the clothing of wrought gold be what they should be for such sacred uses as hers who is the daughter of the great King, but let us not fall to wrangling about the vats in which the thread was dyed or the river bed from which the gold was gathered.

In a later paper the present writer intends to venture upon a task similar to that undertaken by the Maryland Committee. He will do this largely in the hope of encouraging by example other and more competent critics to busy themselves in the same way. Meanwhile a few observations may not be amiss with respect to the sources of liturgical material, and the methods by which they can be drawn upon to the best advantage.

There has been, first and last, a flood of ill-considered talk about the boundlessness of the liturgical treasures lying unused in the pre-Reformation formularies of the English Church, as well as in the old sacramentaries and office books of the East and the West. Wonder is expressed that with such limitless wealth at its command, an "Enrichment Committee" should have brought in so poverty-stricken a Report. Have we not Muratori and Mabillon? it is asked: Daniel and Assemani, Renaudot and Goar? Are there not Missals Roman, Ambrosian, and Mozarabic? Breviaries Anglican, Gallican, and Quignonian? Has Maskell delved and Neale translated and Littledale compiled in vain? To all of which there are two replies, namely: first, It is inexpedient to overload a Prayer Book, even if the material be of the best; and secondly, This best material is by no means so abundant as the volume of our resources would seem to suggest. It

s for the very purpose of escaping redundancy and getting rid of surplusage that the Anglican reformers condensed Missal, Breviary, and Rituale into the one small handy volume known as the first Prayer Book of Edward VI. It was a bold stroke, doubtless denounced as ridiculously radical at the time; but experience has justified Cranmer and his friends. In the whole history of liturgies there is no record of a wiser step. It is scarcely possible so grievously to sin against a people's Prayer Book as by making it more complicated in arrangement and more bulky in volume than need actually requires. It was ground of justifiable pride with the "Enrichment Committee" that the Book which they brought in, despite the many additions it contained, was no thicker by a single page than the Prayer Book as it is. To be sure, the General Convention spoiled all this by insisting on retaining certain duplicate formularies which the Committee had very properly dropped in order to find room for fresh material. But of the Book as first presented, it is possible to say that in no degree was it more cumbersome than that to which the people were already accustomed. Doubtless it would have been still more to the Committee's credit could they have brought in an enriched Book smaller by a third than the Book in use; but their conservatism forbade.

Of still greater moment is the other point, which concerns the quality of the available material. It is the greatest mistake in the world to suppose that simply because a given prayer exists, say, in an Oriental liturgy, and has been translated into English by an eminent scholar, it is therefore proper material to be worked into our services. As a matter of fact, a great deal of the devotional language of which the Oriental liturgies are made is prolix and tedious to a degree simply insufferable. Moreover, in the case of prayers in themselves admirable the original tongue in which they were composed, all often lost through lack of a verbal felicity in the translation. If any one questions this judgment, let him toil through Neale's and Littledale's *Translations of the Primitive Liturgies*, and see whether he can find six, nay

three, consecutive lines which he would be willing to see introduced into our own Communion Office. Or, as respects translations from the Latin office books of the Church of England, let him scrupulously search the pages of the *Sarum Hours*, as done into the vernacular by the Recorder of Salisbury, and see how many of the Collects strike him as good enough to be transplanted into the Book of Common Prayer. The result of this latter voyage of discovery will be an increased wonder at the affluence of the mediæval devotions, combined with amazement at the poverty and unsatisfactoriness of the existing translations. It is with a Latin collect as with a Greek ode, or an Italian sonnet; no matter how wonderful the diction, the charm of it is as a locked secret until the thing has been Englished by genius akin to his who first made it out of his own heart. Of others besides the many brave men who lived before Agamemnon might it be written, —

sed omnes illacrumabiles
Urgentur, ignotique larga
Nocte, carent quia vate sacro.

It was the peculiar felicity of Schiller that he had Coleridge for a translator; and the shades of Gregory and Leo owe it to a living Anglican divine that we English-speaking Christians can think their thoughts after them, and pray their prayers.

Such being the facts in the case, it is evident that the range of choice open to American revisers is far narrower than half-informed persons imagine it to be.

The very best sources of liturgical material are the following: —

(a.) King James's Bible, including the Apocrypha, and supplemented by the Prayer Book Version of the Psalms;

(b.) The old Sacramentaries, Leonine, Gregorian, and Gelasian, chiefly as illustrated by the genius of Dr. Bright;

(c.) The Breviary in its various forms;

(d.) The Primers and other like *fragmenta* of the era of the English Reformation; *

(e.) The devotional writings of the great Anglican divines of the school of Andrewes, Ken, and Taylor; † and last and least,

(f.) The various manuals of prayer, of which the last twenty years have shown themselves so prolific. ‡

Of the Anglican writers, Jeremy Taylor would be by far the most helpful, were it not for the efflorescence of his style. As it is, the best use that can be made of his exuberant devotions is to cull from them here and there a telling phrase or a musical cadence. The "General Intercession," for example, on page 50 of the *Book Annexed*, is a cento to which Taylor is the chief contributor.

That the Enrichment Committee made the best possible use of the various quarries to which they had access is unlikely. Even if they credited themselves with having done so, it would be immodest of them to say it. Better material than any that their researches brought to light may still be lying near the surface, somewhere close at hand, waiting to be unearthed. Certainly this paper will not have been written in vain if it serves the purpose of provoking to the good work of discovery some of those who on the score both of quality and of quantity account what has been thus far done in the line of revision inadequate and meagre.

WILLIAM REED HUNTINGTON.

* Singularly enough the Elizabethan period, so rich in genius of every other type, seems to have been almost wholly barren of liturgical power. Men had not ceased to write prayers, as two stout volumes in the Parker Society's Library abundantly evidence; but they had ceased to write them with the terseness and melody that give to the style of the great Churchmen of the earlier reigns so singular a charm.

† The liturgical manuscript of Sanderson and Wren, made public only recently by the state Bishop of Chester, ought to be included under this head.

‡ Many of these *Treasures*, *Golden Gates*, and the like, have here and there something good, but for the most part they are disfigured by sins against that "sober standard of feeling," than which, as a high authority assures us, nothing except "a sound rule of faith" is more important "in matters of practical religion." Of all of them, Scudamore's unpretentious little *Manual* is, perhaps, the best.

THE COMMUNION OFFICE AND ITS PROPOSED CHANGES.

WHEN a man as careful and as courteous of speech as the Rev. Father Hall implies, as he did at the Church Congress in New Haven, that none of the seven Bishops, seven Presbyters, and seven Laymen who composed the Committee on the Book of Common Prayer were liturgical experts (a writer in the *English Church Quarterly Review* more politely says, "not *all* experts"), one of those twenty-one may well begin a paper on the most important part of the whole question by laying no further claim to the title of *expert* than belongs to a man who, during a priesthood of thirty-one years, has had the *experience* of the use of "the Liturgy" by a weekly, Holy-Day, and Octave celebration of the Blessed Eucharist.

I am going to make an appeal to the Church, to consider the wisdom of touching that Office, which, beyond all others, is endeared to priest and people by the most sacred associations; and whose importance is unapproached by any Office, except the Offices of the administration of Holy Baptism and the conferring of Orders. There is a kernel at the heart of these portions of a Church's Service Book, namely, the actual words of Our Blessed LORD in the institution and appointment of Baptism, Holy Communion, and Orders, which instantly lifts them into a dignity, and demands for them a conformity to ancient use, that nothing else can claim. Beside this, the one surviving liturgical treasure which in the various settings of different uses has come down to us with an impact of every Catholic century is the Office of the Holy Eucharist. So that we have far safer and wiser and more numerous guides to follow in arranging the Order for the administration of the Holy

Communion. And the question to-day for us or for any national Church considering any change in her Prayer Book is, *first*, the question of the Communion Office, and its conformity to primitive use.

Before entering on this discussion it must be remembered that the reason why the Committee of twenty-one put their report in the form of thirty-three resolutions, and then broke these resolutions into sections, was to enable the General Convention, in taking final action, to accept *whatever proposal commended itself*, not being shut up to accept or reject the *Book Annexed as a whole*. This is an important answer to much criticism of the *sweeping* sort. Any change in any section must, I believe, if proposed and adopted in 1886, be referred and postponed for final adoption until 1889; but any single section as it stands, or any number of sections or resolutions, can be adopted *finally* now. I hardly know which critic I most disagree with, the man who accepts, or the man who condemns, the *whole* of the *Book Annexed*.

Secondly, it is important to bear in mind the resolution of the Committee, more or less binding on the Convention, to make no doctrinal change. We acted upon this with much and mutual consideration for each other in the Committee: and as far as it means that no old doctrine should be taken out and no new doctrine put in, by change of word or letter, the Committee, the Convention, the Church, is committed unalterably to this principle; but it is not change of doctrine to make every part of a whole Office conform to the characteristic and careful statements of truth in essential portions of that Office. It is impossible in this connection not to allude to Dr. Huntington's statement in his article in the January number of this REVIEW,—an article whose tone and temper are beyond praise,—that, as the leader of the movement in the House of Deputies, he committed himself to the promise that no change in the Communion Office should be made. I never knew this until now, but I can bear my testimony to the accurate honor with which Dr. Huntington has adhered to this pledge. He has already anticipated my statement that the General

Convention, however, is free to make what changes it will; always providing that it does not depart from Scriptural truth or Catholic usage.

Having said so much, I want to urge the possibility and advantage of such changes in the collocation, and in a slight degree in the language, of separate parts of the Order for the administration of the Holy Communion as may make it a finer instrument even than it is now for the liturgical statement of doctrine and the liturgical stirring of devotion in connection with the Holy Eucharist.

The first point to be considered is the proper separation of the *pro anaphora*, the preparatory portion of the Office, from the central act of the Oblation and Consecration. It seems to me that we should carry out and impress upon communicants the true relation of the parts of the Office to each other and to the whole, by recurring in some degree, to the order in the Scottish Book: that is to say, by putting "the Prayer for the whole state of CHRIST'S Church," the shorter exhortation, and the prayer of humble access after the consecration prayer. For the same reason, I think, we should retain our own use of keeping the confession and absolution, with the recitation of the Law (or of its summary) and the Nicene Creed, in the *pro anaphora*; and in the consecration prayer our present order: first the words of Institution, then the second Oblation, and thirdly, the Invocation of the HOLY GHOST. Speaking first of these latter suggestions, it seems plain that the confession and absolution, adopting, perhaps, the idea of the mutual prayer for the absolving of both priest and people from the older Liturgies, should be in the preparatory part of the Office; since all concerned in this great act need to enter upon it cleansed, as far as may be, from all their sins. As to the order of the three great parts of the Consecration prayer, it is to be said that the American use, like the Scotch Book of 1764, follows the oldest Liturgies, Constantinopolitan, Armenian, Coptic, and Ethiopic, as well as those of S. Clement, S. James, and S. Mark. Beside this, by preserving this order we maintain the primitive and perpetual protest of all old Litur-

es against the Roman explanation of *the manner* of CHRIST's presence; we perpetually uplift this great Sacrament from the materialism of metaphysics into the realm of mystery, from the folly of philosophy into the reasonableness of faith. For, standing there before the altar, and speaking not to men but to God after we have offered the memorial, the *ἀναμνήσις*, the sacrificial offering, in acts which have become holy by the words of Institution, we hasten to speak of them, in our prayer of Invocation, although sacred now and connected with the offering of Great High Priest, "as gifts and creatures of bread and Wine." It is a marvel to me that Churchmen

the true Anglo-Catholic tone of faith and feeling do not realize this more. I do not think it is too much to say that the error of transubstantiation could never have obtained and prevailed, if the Roman Liturgy, alone among all the great ante-reformation Liturgies of the Catholic Church, had not omitted the Invocation from its proper place in the Canon of the Mass.

And now, as to the change of place of the three parts of the service alluded to. The position of the comfortable words and the prayer of humble access certainly ought to be immediately before the act of receiving the Body and Blood; for they are in the first place the encouragement to receive, and in the next place the acknowledgment of unworthiness in receiving; and therefore they ought not to be so far separated from the act of reception. The other question lies deeper down. The prayer for CHRIST's Church militant has come to be regarded too much as exclusively a method of offering gifts and oblations to God. It is, perhaps, that is to say, too much judged from its first petition. Now, of the three oblations in the ancient Liturgies the Oblation of the alms would be abundantly and beautifully provided for by the use of the sentence, "Blessed be Thou, O LORD God," already in the Scotch Book, and recommended in the *Book Annexed*. The reverent placing upon the holy Table of the elements is *the second* Oblation; and the great Oblation is made in the Consecration prayer. The rest of this prayer for CHRIST's Church is

plainly "the great Intercession," which is a prominent feature in every Eucharistic Office in the world. And while there is some variety about its position in the earlier types, a very large proportion of them place it *after* the consecration prayer. There is good reason for this; that having first pleaded, by the representation before the Father the merits of the sacrifice of "the death of CHRIST" while yet the sacrifice lies upon the altar, "we may the more effectually entreat His mercy." This great intercession is called in our book the prayer "for the whole state of CHRIST's Church militant," and in the English book "for the whole state of CHRIST's Church militant here on earth." The Scotch Office calls it more simply and more accurately the prayer "for the whole state of CHRIST's Church." The English title is a vain repetition, beside being, like ours, an incorrect description. Few people question now the fact that the faithful departed are included, as subjects of that prayer, within the closing petition, "that *with them* we may be partakers of Thy heavenly kingdom." We ask for them the only gift they want, and in so doing we bring this great prayer into conformity with the LORD's Prayer at the beginning, with the prayer of Consecration, and with the thanksgiving in the post-communion: "Thy kingdom come" "to all Thy children, O our Father, in Paradise or on the earth:" "we beseech Thee that we and *all Thy whole Church* may obtain," not only "remission of sin" (which they need not), but also "all *other* benefits of CHRIST's passion:" and then, at last, in the post-communion the definition of the Church, as "the mystical body of God's Son, which is the blessed company of *all* faithful people." It is needless to argue this point, which commends itself alike as an accurate statement of belief, and as a satisfying answer to the cravings of our human hearts. And since this doctrine of prayer for the faithful departed is woven into the structure of this Office and expressed in this great intercession, why not make the title of the prayer, which is the bidding to it, consist with the fact: "let us pray for the whole state of CHRIST's Church;" which accords

with the expressions in the Consecration prayer, and in the post-communion thanksgiving, "with all Thy whole Church," and "the blessed company of all faithful people."

I hardly know *how* to plead for this, or *why* I *need* to. The instincts of the hearts of men and women are yearning for safe and authorised utterances of their sense of inter-communion with the faithful dead. Life, as it goes on, is more and more, in its holiest hours of meditation and worship, in the cloud of the mountain of the Transfiguration, seeing CHRIST *and* Moses *and* Elias; joining "with all the company of Heaven." Untaught and unhelped the heart strays off into the dreary dreadfulness of the most material and carnal of all things, miscalled spiritualism, which disturbs and desecrates the repose of the dead and fills the living with unrest: or else it stalks among ghosts and spectres in a shrinking fear; or else it goes where Rome has only a poisoned chalice of drugged deceits to offer it for sale. We may win souls from things like these, console them in their sorrow, satisfy their longings, lift them up, in times of religious thought and worship, into the pure air of Paradise; if we will guide men, with emphatic distinctness, into the clear teaching of the Church about this truth, whose perversion (and almost all error is truth perverted), so disturbs and distresses mankind. Whether this change can be made or not, I greatly hope that we may be moved to adapt the last sentence in this prayer to the language of the Scotch Office:—

And we also praise Thy holy name, for all Thy servants, who, having finished their course in faith, do now rest from their labors. And we yield unto Thee most high praise and hearty thanks, for the wonderful grace and virtue declared in all Thy saints, who have been the choice vessels of Thy grace and the lights of the world in their several generations: most humbly beseeching Thee to give us grace to follow the example of their steadfastness in Thy faith, and obedience to Thy holy commandments, that, at the day of the general resurrection, we, and all they who are of the mystical Body of Thy Son, may be set on His right hand, and hear that His most joyful voice, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.

We shall, I hope, adopt finally what was agreed to in 1886, the omission of the doxology in the first use of the LORD's Prayer; permission *sometimes* to use the summary of the law without the full decalogue; the addition of the "Thanks be to Thee, O LORD," after the Gospel; printing, till we can get a better one, our present version of the Nicene Creed, called, if you please, "The Creed as here followeth;" with the order to say it on the five great feasts. We might well adopt the language of the Scotch Office and say, "Then shall be said or sung *this* creed — all still reverently standing up."

I would urge for adoption this year, and final action in 1889, such changes as would conform our Communion Office to the suggested sketch which follows: After the Creed insert the longer exhortation, certainly intended to be heard by the whole congregation before the non-communicants retire. Then would follow the Offertory sentences preceded by the words, "Let us present our offerings to the LORD with reverence and godly fear:" adding the sentences from the Scottish Book, *Genesis* iv. 3 and 4, "And in process of time it came to pass that Cain brought of the fruit of the ground an offering unto the LORD," etc. *Exodus* xxv. 2: "Speak unto the children of Israel that they bring me an offering," etc. *Deuteronomy* xvi. 16, 17: "Ye shall not appear before the LORD empty," etc. *Psalms* xc. 8: "Give unto the LORD the glory due unto his name," etc., and *S. Mark* xii. 41-44: "And JESUS sat over against the treasury," etc.; and, after the Offertory, ordering the words, "Blessed be Thou, O LORD GOD, for ever and ever," and the rest of the sentence from *1 Chronicles* xxix. 11, 12, and 14, to be said at the act of offering the alms.

It would, I believe, be in strict accordance with S. Paul's statement that only they who *eat* the Flesh and drink the Blood of CHRIST in this holy sacrament do really show forth, that is proclaim, and plead with GOD the sacrifice of His death; it would be in harmony with the liturgical use which in the primitive Church dismissed the non-communicants before the actual offering; and it would establish a habit for the orderly with-

al at a fixed time of all those not intending to
 ve; to insert a rubric here, permitting non-commu-
 nts to withdraw at this point of the service. The
 ce would continue: "Then shall the priest offer and
 : upon the LORD's table so much bread and wine as
 all think sufficient, after which done he shall say to
 e who come to receive the holy communion, the
 ter exhortation, 'Ye who do truly and earnestly re-
 ,' " followed by the confession and absolution, the
 um Corda and the proper Prefaces (which ought to
 ncreased to include prefaces for all the festivals of
 LORD and for All Saints' Day), with the Ter Sanctus.
 n would follow the prayer of consecration separated,
 the *Book Annexed*, into the words of Institution, of
 tion, of Invocation, and of prayer. Then the rubric,
 t us pray for the whole state of CHRIST's Church,"
 the prayer as altered. The prayer of humble ac-
 would follow, and the reception and administration
 e sacrament. I believe it would be wise and safe to
 it at least the use of the first part of the sentences,
 which the holy gifts are delivered to the people.
 r the rubrics directing the proper methods of conse-
 ng more bread and wine, and of dealing with the
 ecrated elements that remain, I would insert the
 ls, "Having now received the precious Body and
 d of CHRIST," &c. from the Scotch Book; after
 h would come the post-communion as in our pres-
 Book. The following sketch of the leading changes
 osed will give a better idea of the effect of the Office,
 ged chiefly by a different collocation of its parts.
 not beyond the possibility of hope that the Church
 cotland might agree upon this as their Office for this
 y Mystery. And it certainly is among the possibil-
 of the future that such a use as this adopted by
 Scotch-American Churches might impress itself upon
 Church of England as a model for such alterations
 er Liturgy as would restore to the Canon the Ob-
 n and Invocation whose (to say the most) imperfect
 ession mars and mutilates the dignity of her Com-
 munion Office.

Not taking time or space for argument which may find place elsewhere, I have sought in this paper only to put in practical shape what many of us are thinking of, that it may arouse the attention and attract the support of those by whom the serious and important question of alterations in the Prayer Book is to be discussed and decided.

THE ORDER, ETC.

As in the *Book Annexed* until after "Thanks be to Thee, O Lord."

Then shall be said or sung the Apostles' Creed; or this Creed (commonly called the Nicene) which here followeth; which *shall* be said on Christmas Day, Easter Day, Ascension Day, Whitsunday, and Trinity Sunday.

The Rubrics as in the *Book Annexed* down to "then shall follow the sermon."

At the time of the celebration of the Holy Communion the Priest shall proceed with the Exhortation, once, at least, in every month upon a Sunday.

"Dearly beloved in the Lord, ye who mind to come," etc.

Then the Priest shall say,

"Let us present our offerings to the LORD with reverence and godly fear."

Then he shall begin the offertory, saying one or more of the sentences following: and note, etc., as in *Book Annexed*.

Add to the Offertory the sentences referred to in the Article which precedes this; and take out the sentence from 1 *Chronicles*, added in the *Book Annexed*, substituting for it, by a change in the latter part of the Rubric,

Who shall humbly present it on the Holy Table, saying: Blessed be thou, O Lord, for ever and ever. Thine, O Lord, is the greatness, etc. 1 *Chronicles*, *xxx.* 11, 12, 14.

Then the Minister shall dismiss the non-communicants in these or like words: "Let those who are not to communicate now depart."

The Priest shall then place upon the Holy Table so much bread and wine as he shall think sufficient; after which done he shall say to those who come to receive the Holy Communion,

"Ye who do truly and earnestly repent," etc., to be followed by the General Confession and Absolution, the comfortable words, the Sursum Corda, the proper Prefaces (with additional prefaces as suggested), the Ter

Sanctus, the Rubric for ordering the bread and wine, and the Consecration Prayer.

Then shall the Priest say : " Let us pray for the whole state of CHRIST's Church."

" Almighty and ever-living God, who by Thy holy Apostle has taught us to make prayers and supplications, and to give thanks for all men, etc.

" And we also bless Thy holy name, for all Thy servants, who, having finished their course in faith, do now rest from their labors.

" And we yield unto Thee most high praise and hearty thanks, for the wonderful grace and virtue declared in all Thy saints, who have been the choice vessels of Thy grace, and the lights of the world in their several generations : most humbly beseeching Thee to give us grace to follow the example of their steadfastness in Thy faith, and obedience to Thy holy commandments, that, at the day of the general resurrection, we, and all they who are of the mystical body of Thy Son, may be set on His right hand, and hear that His most joyful voice, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.

" Grant this, O Father, for JESUS CHRIST's sake, our only mediator and advocate. Amen."

Then shall the Priest kneel down and say, in the name of all them that shall communicate, this Collect for humble access to the Holy Communion, as followeth :

We do not presume to come to this Thy Holy Table, O merciful Lord, etc.

Then shall the Priest first receive the communion in both kinds himself, and proceed to deliver the same to the Bishops, Priests, and Deacons in like manner, (if any be present,) and, after that, to the people also in order, into their hands, all devoutly kneeling. And when he delivereth the bread, he shall say,

The Body of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life. (Adding at his discretion) Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on Him in thy heart by faith, with thanksgiving.

And the Minister who delivereth the cup shall say,

The Blood of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, which was shed for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life. (Adding at his discretion) Drink this in remembrance that CHRIST's Blood was shed for thee, and be thankful.

Then shall follow the two Rubrics.

If the bread or wine be spent before all have communicated, the Priest is to consecrate more, according to the form before prescribed ; beginning at All glory be to Thee, Almighty God, and ending with these words, Partakers of His most blessed Body and Blood.

When all have communicated, the Minister shall return to the Lord's Table, and reverently place upon it what remaineth of the consecrated elements, covering the same with a fair linen cloth, and shall then say :

Having now received the precious Body and Blood of CHRIST, let us give thanks to our LORD GOD, who hath graciously vouchsafed to admit us to the participation of his Holy Mysteries ; and let us beg of Him grace to perform our vows, and to persevere in our good resolutions ; and that, being made holy, we may obtain everlasting life, through the merits of the all-sufficient sacrifice of our LORD and Saviour JESUS CHRIST.

Then would follow the LORD's Prayer, the Thanksgiving, the *Gloria in Excelsis*, and the Benediction.

WILLIAM CROSWELL DOANE.

••• Thinking of some possible point of contact between the Scots-American Office and the English, in connection with the omitted Invocation of the HOLY GHOST it should be remembered that in the Office for the Holy Communion when celebrated at Coronations is the following : " Bless, O LORD, we beseech Thee, these Thy gifts ; and sanctify them unto this holy use ; that by them we may be made partakers of the Body and Blood of Thine only begotten Son, JESUS CHRIST, and fed unto everlasting life of soul and body."

RAYER BOOK REVISION IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA.

imagines Liturgicæ, or the Antiquities of the English Ritual, and a Dissertation on Primitive Liturgies.

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Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ. By the Rev. WILLIAM MASKELL, M. A. 4 Vols. London: 1846.

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The Book Annexed, as Modified by the Action of the General Convention of 1883.

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HERE is no branch of Theological Science which has made such rapid advance within the last half

century as Liturgiology. It is indeed the only department of Theology regarding which it can be said there has been decided gain; and the gain has been so great, that it more than compensates for lack of interest in other directions. Liturgiology, in our own day and generation, has risen to the rank of a special science. It is a cause for congratulation that the leaders in the advance have been English scholars. The revival began with the publication of a book notable in its day, and not yet obsolete, Sir William Palmer's *Origines Liturgicae*. Palmer, in his division of the Liturgies of the East and West into a few principal families, made a great step in advance over the unscientific treatises of Bingham and Comber and Wheatly. Daniel in Germany followed up the work of Palmer in England by the publication of his *Codex Liturgicus*. Then appeared the two remarkable volumes of Dr. Neale in his *Introduction to the History of the Holy Eastern Church*; and his invaluable *Essays in the Christian Remembrancer*. Freeman's *Principles of Divine Service* was a no less notable work in its way. The second part of the first volume is one of the most profoundly philosophical treatises which has ever appeared on the whole subject of Jewish ritual and sacrifice. It is not too much to claim that the whole field of liturgical science has been explored by our modern scholars as it never has been explored before. And the result has been that the student of to day stands far ahead of the men of former generations. We have an admirable hand-book in Hammond's *Liturgies Eastern and Western*; and we are able to pursue our studies in almost every direction by the aid of special treatises, like that of Warren on the *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, and Malan and Rodwel on the *Armenian and Coptic Liturgies*. It would be surprising indeed if this throwing open of the whole of the devotional literature of ancient and modern times had resulted in no practical gains to the Church of the nineteenth century. Nor has the effect been felt only among ourselves, and in the Churches of the Anglican Communion everywhere. It is a cause for congratulation that there has sprung up a

interest in the subject of liturgical science, in various bodies around us. And it is especially noteworthy one of the signs of the times that it is proper for a writer in a popular magazine to make the Prayer Book a basis for union among the scattered divisions of Protestant Christendom. Another of the remarkable results of the liturgical revival is to see Knox's *Common Order* offered for sale in the United States. Next to Freeman's *Principles of Divine Service* as a *rationale* of the Divine Offices, we may mention *Readings upon the Liturgy* by a disciple of Dr. Irving. There is certainly nothing connected with the religious movements of the nineteenth century more wonderful than this; nothing surely that calls for more careful consideration at our hands.

It is interesting to note, in this connection, that one of the latest monographs produced by Comparative Liturgy associates our own American Church with the great revival of the last half century; and determines, with clear and unmistakable historical accuracy, the position of our own American Prayer Book in its relation to the Eastern as well as to the Western liturgies. Dr. Hadden, in his *Historical Account of Scottish and English Communion Offices*, calls our attention to the fact that "the influence of the Scottish Communion Office upon the present time upon the Christian world is chiefly exercised indirectly through the Prayer Book of the Church of the United States of America." The distinguished author goes on to add (a thing which will be of interest to every American Churchman of such competent authority to know), that "the distinctive features of the Scottish Communion Office, distinguished from the corresponding service in the Prayer Book, are mainly due to the Office being based upon its essential parts not upon the structural features of the Roman liturgy, but upon that which is underlying the liturgies of most, if not all, the ancient Churches of the Christian world. It was especially the well-defined character of the ancient liturgies that determined in the eighteenth

century the structural form of the Prayer of Consecration; as no doubt it was the Greek liturgies that in the sixteenth century suggested to Cranmer and his coadjutors the bold insertion of the express Invocation of the HOLY SPIRIT into their Prayer of Consecration. The liturgiologists belonging to the school of theologians from which our office has proceeded were satisfied of the Apostolical origin of the Invocation. They knew that it existed in the liturgies of the other four patriarchates of Christendom, — Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Constantinople; the majority of them believed that it had also had a place in the original liturgy of the Roman Church, — that it had in fact been universal in the earliest age of Christianity. They looked to the Greek liturgies, though disfigured by many later additions, as retaining the structure and essence of the Eucharistic worship of CHRIST'S Church in its purest age. There was one feature which they found common to all the Greek liturgies, namely, the arrangement of the parts of the great Prayer of Consecration in the order — (1) Recital of the narrative of the Institution, (2) the oblation of the elements, (3) the prayer to GOD the Father for the descent of the HOLY SPIRIT, that He might make the elements the Body and Blood of CHRIST; and this they regarded as of such high moment that a return to it in their own forms of worship seemed a manifest duty." It would appear, then, as if we might have had providentially given to us in our Prayer Book as it is, not only a rallying point for those who among ourselves are earnestly yearning for a return to something like Catholic unity, but also a common ground where in the ages yet to come the Churches of the East and the West may find a meeting place. Dr. Dowden, in his Introduction, remarks moreover upon "the vantage ground possessed by the Scottish and the American Churches in any friendly approaches towards the Holy Eastern Church, or towards any of the Oriental Churches that retain the Orthodox Faith. These Churches, like our own, reject the Romish doctrines of the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, of his infallibility, and of the immaculate conception of the Blessed Mary

the Virgin. They have long been regarded by Rome as schismatical, and if they now pertinaciously reject what has recently been declared as *de fide*, they may soon come, like ourselves, to be viewed as heretical. In the mean time the friendly relations of the Greek Church, and members of the reformed Churches of the United Kingdom, and of America, are being constantly exhibited. But may we not hope for something more? May we not look forward to a day when a further advance will be taken towards the fulfilment of the prayer of the Master? May we not look forward to acts of mutual recognition on the part of the Holy Eastern and of the Anglican Churches? And in any approaches towards intercommunion, or an express corporate recognition, the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist would be certain to occupy a foremost place in men's thoughts. It would then be no small matter that the American and Scottish Churches possess liturgies, which, however bald and meagre they may appear in comparison with the copious and ornate rites of the East, would yet be acknowledged by the Bishops of the Russian and Greek Church as manifestly containing the essentials of the Eucharistic service, and even their own ancient order and arrangement of its solemn parts. These may appear day-dreams to many, but when we think of our own position in America as the meeting place of all nations, it is surely something to possess a liturgy in which the essential characteristics of the East are brought into organic union with one of the great liturgical families of the West.

But while the current of religious thought and opinion has been thus steadily setting in in one direction, there have been from time to time in England, as well as among ourselves, indications of another and an opposite drift. It is the old story of the Wheat and the Tares. As far back as the year 1689 we find a royal Commission appointed to revise the Book which had been reviewed by Convocation in 1661. The professed object, on the part of those who asked for revision, was to reconcile Nonconformists to the Church. "The great business of the Commission," Archbishop Stillingfleet tells us, "was

the adding some Offices, and preparing new ones which are wanting, and the amending of Rubrics." The Commission met according to appointment, and recommended to Convocation a great number of alterations. Among other things, it was actually proposed to rewrite almost all the ancient Collects, and substitute for their terse and vigorous old English "the vapid and frothy mannerisms of Patrick and Tillotson." What a merciful escape, and what a warning to the men of the present generation! Convocation refused to accede to the proposition for revision, and the thing fell through; but not without the expression of devout thankfulness to Almighty God on the part of Stillingfleet, Beveridge, and others, that the attempt to vulgarize the Prayer Book to suit the tastes of Nonconformists had come to nought. After the advent of the Georges to the throne another attempt was made somewhat similar to that which followed the accession of William. It was now seriously proposed to embrace Arians and Socinians within the comprehensive limits of the Church of England; and there must be "flexibility of use" accordingly. History repeats itself. The Prayer Book, it was urged, needed improvement because of "the lapse of time and the progress of religious knowledge." In 1749 a specimen of the new Liturgy was put forth. The scheme for revision again failed, notwithstanding it was declared by the promoters of the Book that their opponents were "ill qualified to be public teachers in this enlightened and philosophic age." We have always been of the opinion that there is some deep meaning hidden in our LORD's words when, in speaking of the Tares, He says they are to be bound in *bundles* in order that they might be burned. The methods and phrases of certain classes of men, however separated in time, are wonderfully similar, and would seem to have a mysterious affiliation for each other. It is well to note, in view of arguments lately urged in favor of the *Book Annexed*, that the reasons given for revision, in both the cases now referred to, was the reconciliation of the politico-religious dissent which followed the accession of William of Orange and the Georges to the throne

of England. Experience has proved that the attempt to restore a radical faction to the Church, by adapting her services to meet their views of the fitness of things, is of the nature of an utter impossibility. It never has succeeded, and it never can. It only makes confusion worse confounded. No scheme of comprehension, ever devised by the wit of man, can turn a Catholic-minded Churchman into a radical and a Puritan; nor a radical and a Puritan into a Catholic-minded Churchman. It is morally impossible that the language in which the one expresses his feelings of reverence and devotion can ever be a vehicle for the cant and religious fervor of the other. You cannot put new wine into old bottles; so surely as you do, you will burst the bottles, and lose the juice, which had you only been content to let fermentation go on, you might at the last have saved. The most recent attempt to revise the Prayer Book in England has been that of Lord Ebury, Dr. Robinson, and others, in our own day and generation. The disguise this time is entirely thrown off; it is now openly declared that revision is asked for, not on politico-religious grounds, as heretofore, but for "doctrinal reasons." For the third time the attempt at revision failed, not however without results to which we shall hereafter have occasion to refer. Now, surely, if history be of any use as a help to the discovery of truth, the lesson is that it is in vain to seek to reconcile dissent in this way. The call for revision is not on account of differences of form, or of ceremonial; but, as openly declared by Lord Ebury and his friends, because the forms which they desire to change enshrine doctrines to which the rationalistic mind cannot, and will not, assent. The difference between the Church and dissent is not in things which are a mere matter of taste, as minds which look only upon the surface of things are disposed to claim; nor is the question at issue, whether prayers shall be said in a formal or in an informal way (for it is admitted that the very effort to be informal leads to formalism in the end); but whether worship is to have for its object a Being who has Himself prescribed the way in which He is to be approached; or is to be regarded

as a purely subjective thing which knows no law save the feelings of the moment, or the fancy of the worshipper. As we are in danger continually of being deceived by words, and as controversy is oftentimes carried on interminably, because the persons differing have not taken the trouble at the outset to come to an understanding about the meaning of terms, let us then, with a view to arrive at a common understanding regarding what is called "Liturgical Enrichment," ask at the outset, (1) What is a Liturgy? (2) What is Liturgical worship?

Now it is agreed that the word Liturgy, in the strict meaning of the word, has one and one only proper application, and that is to the service of the Holy Communion. The term liturgical is also used, in an enlarged and secondary application of the word, to the prayers and hymns which are immediately or incidentally connected with the Eucharistic Sacrifice. But we cannot, with any propriety of speech, use the term liturgical in connection with acts of devotion merely social in their character, and not associated with the public and corporate worship of the Church. The Morning and Evening Offices of the Church derive their liturgical character from their relation to the Eucharistic Service, the one as preparatory, the other as complementary. They are not mere social acts of devotion, but are of obligation upon all members of the Church, because they form a part of her public and corporate service, and have so done from time immemorial. A simple illustration will make our meaning plain. We find upon examination that the psalm *Benedictus* has always been part and parcel of the Morning Office. *The Benedictus* is the hymn in which the Church at Lauds praises God for the fulfilment of His promise in the Incarnation. One could as easily think of the Church beginning the day without confession or absolution, as omitting to sing *the* psalm of thanksgiving for the Incarnation of the Eternal Son. It would be as impossible for the Church to omit all reference to the fact of the Incarnation at the beginning of the day, as it would be to forget the act of creation itself, and to fail to render

anks to God for it. Again, why do we sing *Magnificat* at Even-Song? Because it has always formed a part of the Office for Vespers. One cannot think of Vespers without it. Just as the bird at the setting of the sun breaks out into a strain of song, so the Church has always closed her day with the hymn in which the Blessed Virgin praised God for the accomplishment of the work of redemption in the fulness of times. We do not sing *Benedictus* at Matins, *Magnificat* at Even-Song, or *Nunc Dimittis* at Compline, because it suits our fancy so to do, or because it gratifies our taste, but because it is the thing *proper* to be done. The act in which we are engaged is not an act of private devotion, in which the individual taste or fancy of the worshipper is to find expression, or can be allowed any place, but is an act of devotion on the part of the corporate Church. It is in other words a *liturgical* act, and its *liturgical* character is derived from its association with the central act of all religious worship, the Holy Eucharist, the great sacrament of the Incarnation. If the reader will take the trouble to look at the table given in the second chapter of Hammond's Manual, to which reference has already been made, he will find, upon examination, that there are certain great structural principles which regulate and control the order of Divine Service, whatever the diversity of rite or of language, all the world over. There are divisions and subdivisions, "each of which embodies a distinct movement or element of the service," but the order of arrangement is invariably the same. This is one of the fundamental principles firmly established by Comparative Liturgiology. The same is true of the service of the Hours from which our Morning and Evening Prayer have been taken. Mr. Freeman, in the first volume of his *Principles of Divine Service*, furnishes a comparative table of the Eastern Nocturnal Office and the English Matins, in which the whole matter of structure and arrangement is made visible to the eye. The differences between the Office of the hours in the East and West is even greater than the difference of structure in the liturgies themselves, but, as Mr. Freeman observes, "the links

by which the successive forms assumed by them cohere are certain and decisive." It would appear, then, that both in the Liturgy itself, and in the acts of devotions associated with it there are fixed and unalterable laws which have prevailed from the very first, and which make the Liturgy to be, whether in the proper or in the applied application of the word, a *corporate* function, the act of the *corporate* Church, and the expression of a *corporate* form of devotion, with due allowance made (by reason of Proper Prefaces, Sequences, and Antiphons) for the variations of times and seasons. Now, taking the word Liturgy in its proper sense, let us ask in what way is it proposed to enrich the "great central act of religious worship?" The first thing we note is the omission of the doxology in the LORD'S Prayer. This is a singularly unfortunate "enrichment," for the ascription is an Eastern feature of our Office, and ought on that account, if for no other reason, to be retained. Mr. Freeman, in speaking of the LORD'S Prayer in the Morning Office, says "the Doxology at the close is greatly to be prized, as possessed by us alone, among Western Churches. It also serves to impart to this Divine summary of our worship the dominant and pervading aspect of praise." If this be true of the Morning Prayer, it is surely much more true of the Eucharistic Office itself. The truth is, the "Doxology" is a liturgical addition which, as Mr. Burgon has proved, is as old as the earliest manuscripts of the Gospels themselves, and is on every account to be retained. Was the object in removing it conformity to the English Book, or is it the influence of the Revised Version? If the latter, why then was it not omitted in Morning Prayer as well? Whatever be the reason, the omission is certainly not a "liturgical enrichment." Equally extraordinary in the way of "flexibility of use" are the proposed rubrics at the end of the Communion Office. The *Maryland Report* calls attention to the fact that "these rubrics were specially omitted in our American Book in 1789, and the last two of them in the Proposed Book of 1786 also," and, instead of tending either to "enrichment" or "flexibility

f use," are to be regarded as another of the attempts made at the "abridgment of previous liberty." Now, if it be desirable to enact restrictive rubrics, it ought not to be done under the cover of greater "flexibility of use;" and surely the Committee were bound, in whatever they decided, to keep within the limits of the resolution under which they acted. The original resolution asked for no such power, and contemplated no such action. In all that has been attempted in the Liturgy proper, then, there is no evidence of either "enrichment" or greater flexibility," but just the contrary. We have impoverishment and greater restriction than ever before.

The same will be found true in many and important particulars in the proposed enrichment of Morning Prayer. Mr. Freeman observes that "in the free use of hymns, which has never been disallowed, but rather encouraged in various ways, in the English Church, lies one great resource for amplifying and *enriching* our ordinary Office." Now, one of the very first of the proposed enrichments, under the general heading "Concerning the service of the Church," is, as noted in the *Maryland Report*, "an abridgment of previous liberty," and in direct opposition to the method of enrichment advocated by Mr. Freeman. We are to be bound, as we have never been bound before, to the selection of hymns and anthems set forth or allowed by "authority." What, in such a case, is meant by authority? Is it proposed to make hymns and anthems a part of the Prayer Book, and enforce the Article of the Constitution that no changes can be made except under the restrictions there provided for? And this under the resolution for increased "flexibility of use!"

Another extraordinary example of enrichment is the proposed substitution of the *prelude* to the *Benedicite* for the *Benedicite* itself. The *Maryland Report* says of the "New Cantic" that it is "an unnecessary addition, and is not particularly suited for a Cantic." We should think not. We might, at least, have looked for an accurate rendering of the original text; as it stands, the *Benedictus* and *Domine* is neither Greek, nor Latin, nor English. We

speaking advisedly when we say that there are almost as many mistakes as there are verses. But it is not with this feature of the work that we only, or chiefly, find fault. The principal ground of our complaint is, that under the cover of enrichment, we in reality find impoverishment. What kind of substitute is this mutilated Cantic for the magnificent *Te Deum*? On what grounds are we asked to substitute the prelude to a hymn for the hymn itself? If the thing proposed as a substitute be not, in point of merit, superior to the thing for which it is to be substituted, then it is not enrichment we have, but impoverishment. The more we examine into the details of the work done we find inextricable confusion of thought, as well as of language. Addition is not necessarily enriching. More especially is this the case when the addition made turns out to be a substitute for something manifestly superior. Alternative use, as has been so ably pointed out in the *Wisconsin Report*, if carried out as now proposed to do, would change the whole character of the Service Book. Divine worship, instead of being a corporate act, is to be made to suit individual tastes, and to please the individual fancy. Every man is to have his psalm; every man is to have his hymn. Against such a notion, the meeting together in one place, and in one Presence, is in itself a protest. It is a thing which the Church has resisted, as the introduction of a false principle, since the days of S. Paul. We note a similar absence of a sense of liturgical propriety in the introduction of the *De Profundis* as an alternative Cantic into the Morning Office. It is, as the writer of the *Maryland Report* suggests, "too mournful a psalm for a Cantic to follow the reading of Holy Scripture." The idea of a Cantic is that of a "Song of Thanksgiving for some great benefit." The proper use of the Canticles, as Mr. Freeman has pointed out, is that of hymns of praise in response to the Lessons. And the Lessons in their liturgical use are not read for their "own sake alone," nor "for the sake of the particular lesson" they may "convey," but as a sample and specimen of the vast whole,—a single streak of the cloudless depth of

light, "which beams from the great orb of Scripture." The true function of Morning and Evening Prayer in the Christian economy corresponds to the function of the Morning and Evening Sacrifice of the Old Dispensation. It is like the offering of the whole burnt offering, primarily a service of devotion and thanksgiving to Almighty God, on the part of the whole Church in virtue of her Divine calling, and the discharge of the duties of her eternal Priesthood. Regarded on its earthly side, it makes confession of "the sins and imaginations of the heart," or sins of daily infirmity, but not of actual sin, nor of sins requiring penitential discipline. Mr. Freeman, in his chapter on "Morning and Evening Prayer," in his *Principle of Divine Service*, has so thoroughly set forth the Eucharistic character of the daily Offices, that there is no excuse for any one being ignorant of their true nature at the present day. The truth is, as has been stated by a writer in the last number of the *English Church Quarterly Review*, that "the Revisers seem, to a great extent, to have ignored the true intention of the Daily Service, as the Church's regular and stated offering of prayer and praise to Almighty God, and to have treated them as 'spiritual exercises,' having, as their primary object, the edification of the people, and therefore to be made as variable as possible." It is clear to our own mind that the thing which the originators of the movement had in mind (at the outset at least), was not "liturgical enrichment," in the proper sense of the term, but the increase and multiplication of occasional offices to suit new exigencies, and to provide for new wants. It is a case where a more exact use of language, and a clearer definition of terms, would have prevented much discussion, and saved much trouble. "Liturgical enrichment," as we have seen, must apply either to the Liturgy proper, or to the Offices of Morning and Evening Prayer in their liturgical character, as the stated and daily offering on the part of the Church of a service of praise to Almighty God. But the Eucharistic Service has not been touched in the way of enrichment, and in anything that has been done in the Offices for Morning

and Evening Prayer, the object has been, not to add to their use as a Service of Song, but to adapt them to other ends and purposes. It is manifest, then, that the aim of the promoters of revision has not been the "enrichment of the Liturgy," but the multiplication of Offices for occasional use and for special terms and seasons. Now, to Offices for occasional use there can be no possible objection. Only let us call things by their right names, and not confound things which differ. Let us not try to incorporate into the Morning and Evening Offices "alternates" and "substitutes," the effect of which would be to change the whole character of these offices. The Offices of Morning and Evening Prayer are to remain as liturgical Offices properly so called; and Offices for special needs are to be supplied either by compilation from the Offices as they now are, or by the gathering of new material from other sources. It was in this way, it will be remembered, the late Bishop of Oxford proposed to meet the demand for Revision in the Convocation of 1859. In 1854 a Joint Committee of both Houses had reported in favor of a division of services, as well as of adding some new occasional services "to be formed from the Prayer Book." The matter was taken up again in 1855, and in the Convocation of 1859 it was moved to add some six or seven Occasional Services to the Book of Common Prayer. The vote on the Bishop of Oxford's motion resulted in a tie, and was lost only by the President casting his vote in the negative. Now, we submit that the way to meet "the changed conditions of the national life" is by the addition of occasional Offices, and not by "alterations in the *Book of Common Prayer*," after the fashion of a new patch upon an old garment. Nothing could possibly be more destructive of the spirit of piety and true devotion than constant tinkering with the Divine Liturgy. There may come occasions, in the lapse of centuries, when some excrescence in the way of antiquated ceremonial is to be lopped off, or when some omission is to be supplied, as in the Scottish and American Offices. But these occasions are rare, and Divine Providence, as in

our own case, will point out the way. It may be also, as in our own day, that, as a consequence of an intellectual movement, treasures long hidden will be brought to light, and the *rationale* of things familiar, but not generally understood, will become more extended. It is, indeed, cause for congratulation that liturgical study among ourselves is greatly on the increase. Notwithstanding it will be conceded, by those who are best capable of forming an intelligent opinion on the subject, that the time has not yet come for any general or comprehensive revision of the Offices of the American Church. All that can at present be done is merely tentative, and it is the part of wisdom to store it up, as suggested by the Bishop of Western New York, for future use, and not incorporate it into the established use of the Church. Meanwhile the way is being opened up, in the providence of God, for the whole Anglican Communion to take part in the work. The day cannot be far distant when the proposition which was lost only by the casting vote of the late Archbishop will be received with favor, and the English Convocation will feel free to act. It is safe to affirm that the request, on our own part, for a Joint Committee, if formally presented, would meet with acceptance, and arrangements would be made to set on foot a revision of the Office-Books of the Anglican Communion, by men competent to do the work entrusted to them.

In the matter of greater flexibility of use to meet existing needs, there is much that can be done without touching (save in one or two unimportant particulars) our present Prayer Book, provided the thing is gone about intelligently, and with a clear conception of what it is that constitutes the distinctive features of the Anglican rite. It is to be borne in mind, then, that the object of the compilers of our present book was to adapt to popular use and comprehension services which had been hitherto largely of an exclusive nature, and in which the great body of the faithful took little or no interest, and at which they were not even expected to be present. Morning Prayer, it is well known, is made up of three Offices, which in practical use had grown into one, but in which

the people at large took no part. The same is true of the Office of Evening Prayer, both as to structure and use. To adapt these old Services of the Hours to popular use two things were deemed necessary. It was deemed advisable, in view of the less developed spiritual condition of the mass of the faithful, to preface the Office with an Exhortation and with a more extended form of Confession and Absolution. And in order to secure greater simplicity of structure, much of the liturgical detail of the old Offices in the way of Antiphons, and so forth, was surrendered as unsuited to popular use. It is to be regretted that the Prayer Book, as now printed, does not follow the example of the Sealed Book in spacing off the Preface consisting of the Exhortation, Confession, and Absolution from the body of the Office. It would in this way be made visible to the eye that the Office properly begins with the LORD's Prayer. And it might be left to the discretion and judgment of the officiant to determine whether the circumstances of the case required him to make use of the Preface or not. If alone, or with an assistant only, or in the presence of the two or three faithful ones gathered for daily prayer, he is surely not expected to use a Preface which was inserted for general purposes, and is no longer applicable in the altered circumstances of the case. The omission of the Preface accordingly has been accustomed to be made, by a kind of general consent, in College Chapels and in Religious Houses. Here it is felt the Preface would be out of place. It is a question, let it be said in passing, whether the short form of Confession and Absolution, as proposed in the *Book Annexed*, can be regarded as a substitute for the existing form of General Confession, and Declaration of Absolution, in indiscriminate congregations, where it is to be taken for granted that large numbers of unbaptised persons are present.

The Sealed Book suggests another simple improvement which if only carried out in the printed editions of the Prayer Book would of itself go far to fix the rule for flexibility of use. As the Sealed Book separates the Preface from the beginning of the Office, so at the con-

clusion it makes a similar division by putting a space between the Third Collect and the Five Prayers commonly known as the Commemoration Prayers which follow after. A simple arrangement of this kind would leave the Daily Service (properly so called) in the form of a short compact Office beginning with the LORD's Prayer and ending with the Third Collect, to be used upon occasion on week days, and at the discretion of the officiant. It would also make plain to the eye, that the gulf between the Absolution and LORD's Prayer at the beginning, and the Third Collect and the Commemoration Prayer at the end, is in reality a ritual distinction marking the difference between the Choir Office, properly so called, and the Office designed for the people when able to be present. We have in this simple arrangement, if carried out and made visible to the eye, a true "liturgical enrichment" without a single change or addition (save the needed rubrical note), and we have at the same time all that is needed in a shortened form of service.

The suggestions now made will be found to apply also to the Office of the Holy Communion. Here, as in the daily Offices, we have a Preface, consisting of the Collect for Purity and the Ten Commandments, which is capable of being marked by spacing off from the Office, properly so called, in its threefold division of Oblation, Consecration, and Post-communion. In this way it might again be made plain to the eye that the Preface is in reality nothing more than the preparation of Priest and people for the solemn service in which they are about to engage, and is to be as reverently and quietly recited as possible. It would seem to be right and proper, for the same reason, that when once used the Preface need not be repeated; and that liberty should be given to omit altogether when the service is not of a popular character, as in College Chapels and Religious Houses. Now here again "liturgical enrichment" is secured without cost, by discriminating between the Service of preparation and the Office itself; and the granting liberty to omit when the necessary conditions have already been complied with, or, from the nature of the case, do not exist.

Moreover, when there is an accumulation of Offices, then the shortened form of Morning Prayer (the Office proper) is to be used, and both the Preface and Commemoration Prayer omitted, for the reason that Confession and Absolution are to follow and the substance of the Commemoration Prayer is to be found summed up in the Prayer for the Church Militant. Why repeat, when the repetition is caused by the fact that Offices are used sometimes separately which may upon occasion be combined in one?

And this leads us to note the misleading character of the language used in the setting forth of the *Book Annexed*, as well as the want of technical precision in speaking of things which are capable of being strictly defined. We have already called attention to the loose use of the word *liturgical*, and the confusion which has resulted from it. We would now call attention to some of the things embraced under the general heading '*Concerning the Service of the Church.*' The term *service*, like the word *liturgy*, is properly applied, as Mr. Maskell is careful to note, to *the* Service of the Holy Communion. It is also used, like the word *liturgy*, in a broader sense, as the equivalent of the Latin *Officium*, and so we speak of the daily Services of Morning and Evening Prayer. But we cannot with any propriety of speech speak of the Holy Communion and Morning and Evening Prayer as "*independent*" Services, which may any time be substituted one for another. We may use these Offices indeed at different times, and it is a mistake to suppose, as many people do, that Morning Prayer, Litany, and Holy Communion must (after the evil fashion introduced by Grindal when made Archbishop of York) be said together with "no pause or stay." But if we do separate things that are capable of being said apart, we must not allow ourselves to think that the Offices of Morning and Evening Prayer and Holy Communion have no organic relation to each other, or that one can ever be a substitute for the other. Morning Prayer cannot take the place of the Holy Communion, as an "*independent*" service; nor can the Litany, as an "*independent*" service, be sub-

stituted for either the Morning Prayer or the Holy Communion. There is an order to be observed in the use of these Offices, for the reason that the one is not without the other; and because they bear to each other the relation of primary and secondary in the order of service. Worship, in other words, does not consist in the mere performance of the sacramental rite; nor does it consist, either, of the mere saying of psalms and hymns and prayers to express the feeling of devotion; but in the union and combination of the two. The objective rite furnishes the action, and prescribes the rule around which, and according to which, the subjective feeling which finds its vehicle of expression in thanksgiving and supplication is to shape itself, and form and crystallise. It is very true, as Mr. Freeman reminds us, that the offering of the Eucharistic Oblation is not, as some would have it, the whole of Divine service. But it is also true, as the same writer is careful to observe, that the Church's regular worship of prayer and praise is the outgrowth and expression of that Divine priesthood into which we are engrafted in our baptism, and which fulfils its function in offering to God daily, morning by morning, and evening by evening, the sacrifice of praise for the benefits which flow to the redeemed Church through the incarnation and death and passion of her adorable LORD. Hence, as we have seen, the place of the *Benedictus* in the Morning Office and of *Magnificat* in the Office for Vespers. Now we search in vain for the recognition of any of these fundamental liturgical principles in the *Book Annexed*. Instead of "liturgical enrichment," we have in the things actually done, as we have seen, liturgical impoverishment. And we have now also liturgical deterioration, in the turning of Morning Prayer and Litany and Holy Communion into "independent services" which may be substituted one for another. The principle is ignored that there can, in propriety of speech, be only one Service; and that other so called Services derive their name and title from the relation which they hold to the central rite. It is again made manifest that the notion of Divine service, in the minds of the promoters of revision among us,

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is not that of one great corporate act in which the whole Church as one body takes part, but that of many independent and isolated acts, in which the taste and convenience of the participant is to be consulted, without regard to his baptismal calling, or the discharge of the duties of his royal Priesthood. If this be indeed so, we have then, as has been said, a degradation of the whole idea of Divine Service under the plea of addition and enrichment. Whatever be our desire to popularise the services of the Church, or to adapt them to the exigencies of times and seasons, we must take care not to vulgarise them, nor are we to allow ourselves ever to forget what the SERVICE of the CHURCH in its own nature is. "The whole life" (again to quote from Mr. Freeman), "the ritual action more especially of a Christian, was deemed of by Apostles and Apostolic men as a thing rising out of baptism and the Eucharist, and owning no other root. The ordinary worship of the Church . . . is an eminent means of discharging the oblations and functions imposed, and of receiving the benefits guaranteed in both the Sacraments. Man . . . appears 'therein' as a supernaturally endowed creature, reconciled and saved, baptised and eucharistised; baptised into a triune Name, and 'going forth to his work and to his labor until the evening' with the sense of a baptismal vow upon him, and the facts of a baptismal creed surrounding him; sustained in act or desire, by present or recent participation, with supersubstantial food, and himself offered and accepted in a continual eucharistic oblation; though reconciled, yet needing daily reconciliation for daily falls, by the healing virtue of confession and absolution; having the Spirit, yet receiving daily fresh supplies of it for his guidance, to be sought for in set prayers though the all-prevailing Name; finally passing through a circuit of days, which by the ordinance either of God or His Church, 'are distinguished, some of them made high days, and hallowed, and some of them made ordinary days,' and which receive their commemoration accordingly." Now we submit that the first thing needed is not liturgical enrichment, but liturgical revival. We want, first of all,

chiefly of all, to restore the weekly celebration of the Eucharist, admitted as it is by all to have been the universal custom of the Apostolic age. This done, we are to remind the faithful of the intention of the Church in reforming of the daily Offices. We are to impress upon them that it was her object, in the arranging and settling of the daily Offices, to throw open to the body of the baptised forms of devotion which had hitherto been confined to the favored few; and we are to exhort the laity to justify the action of the Church in so doing by an attendance, as far practicable, upon the services provided for them. At any rate, it is a duty imposed upon the Clergy which they cannot without the neglect of their high calling set aside, — a duty not prescribed by any rubric, — but arising out of the very nature of their office, to maintain the public and organic worship of the Church. If the laity can with reason plead their engagements, the Clergy in their ministerial character are set apart for this very thing. If occasional Offices are to be multiplied, then, if independent services for Missions and other purposes are needed, by all means let the thing be done; but let us not confound Occasional Offices and Independent Services with the Eucharist proper, or with Morning and Evening Prayer of a liturgical character. It must be understood that the daily Offices, under all circumstances, are to remain invariable, embodying the perpetual, and corporate worship of the organic Church. We do not propose to go into a detailed examination of the alterations and emendations proposed in *Book Annexed*. This has been done most satisfactorily in the *Maryland Report*. The examination of the subject by the Rev. Frederick Gibson leaves much more to be desired. It supplements in an admirable way the very able *Wisconsin Report* of Professor Briggs. Together, the two Reports furnish a most gratifying exhibition of thoroughness and depth on the part of those who have sent them forth.

Before bringing this review to a close, we desire to draw attention to some of the broader aspects of the question, under the conviction that the time has

come when it demands a more careful consideration at our hands. It is not the case then, as is sometimes taken for granted, that the ritualistic movement, as it is called, is peculiar either to the Church of England or to the Church in America. The movement has made itself felt among religious bodies outside of the Church to a greater extent than it has among ourselves. It is one of the signs of the times; and upon examination it will be found that it is not confined exclusively or mainly to the religious life of the nineteenth century. It needs no great power of discernment to see that art in our day has developed quite as rapidly as science has. The things which minister to refinement and culture are no longer the exclusive possession of the upper classes; they have become the heritage of the middle and lower classes as well. Photography and wood engraving have made men of all conditions familiar with the names of Michael Angelo and Raphael and Fra Angelico. The ritual movement is more than a mere reaction from Puritanism. It is part and parcel of a wider movement, and marks an advance in social culture. It cannot be pooh-poohed or contemptuously set aside. Art and refinement and social culture are not, as some would have it, mere sentiment. They have their value, and they ought to have their price. There are those who will try to flout all this, and would pour contempt upon it. But these men are sons of Anak; it is their way to club rather than to coax. God is Goodness, and God is Truth, and God (as Plato taught long ago) is Beauty as well. And it is never to be forgotten, that it is His beauty rather than His truth which enters the soul, and serves to hold it in thrall. If these things be so, it is surely the duty of the Church in the nineteenth century to direct such a movement. Men everywhere are looking to her as a guide in the matter of ritual expression. They flock to her altars, not because they comprehend her doctrine or sympathise with her discipline, but because they are charmed by her sense of propriety and decency. It is surely something to be thankful for, and it places us in a position of grave responsibility. How shall we discharge the duty? By

ing down to the lower standard of a vulgar taste, or educating it up to an appreciation of the beauty of fitness? Surely, the latter. We are to take the crude unformed religious instinct, and train it in accordance with principles that have become established by reason of use. It must be kept in mind, too, what these principles really are. They are not Roman, and they are not Greek. They are Anglican, and are the outgrowth of the spirit of the Reformation in its wider and holier sense. They recognise as fundamental the great principle of moral responsibility and individual liberty; and they assert the Priesthood of the laity, and their right to an intelligent participation in the public worship of the Church. The place given to the whole body of the faithful in assisting at Divine service, not by their presence only, but by having brought before them the whole plan of redemption, and the taking part in the thanksgiving and praise called forth by a devout contemplation of the Divine plan, is the one great characteristic feature of the Anglican rite; and it is a feature which we are bound to maintain at every cost. It is, alas! of the very nature of things that we are disposed in attempting the correction of one extreme to run into another. But the time happily may be regarded as past when we are likely to continue the practice of preaching prayers to the people. It is one thing to acknowledge the right of the laity to take part in Divine service; it is another to vulgarise the service by making man and not God the object of our devotions. Nor are we likely to see much more of the dividing of the Office of the Holy Communion into some eighteen or twenty different portions in order that every one present may have an opportunity of exhibiting his rhetorical gift before the congregation. There is ritualism; and there is rationalism; but the dreariest and most wearisome of all is the rhetorical attempt to turn Morning and Evening Prayer into a great function, and the absurdity of bringing out twenty men (as we have ourselves seen) to do what properly belongs to one. The danger at present is the tendency to rush into extremes in an op-

posite direction. Let it be understood, then, that a mumbled mass is no substitute for Morning Prayer. If choral matins without celebration is open to the charge of defect, it is also true that the old rule of the Church of England is that "every Priest is bound at least to say Matins before he presumes to celebrate." There is a danger lest, in the revival of the present day, both Priest and people forget the canonical restrictions imposed upon the reception of the Blessed Sacrament. It is to be remembered by the Priest that he is not to celebrate more than once a day "*nisi necessitate urgente; et tunc idem cum in die bis celebrat post primam celebrationem, et sanguinis sumptionem nil infundatur calici*." And the people are to be reminded that it is forbidden "any priest to say masse unlesse those who be present do first by decent composition of their body shew, that they are present not only in body, but also in minde, and with a devout affection of heart." Then there are certain features of Anglican ritual which are not to be allowed to be obscured by the meritorious accessories of Roman ceremonial. There is both beauty and significance in the symbolism of the two great lights, when properly arranged upon the altar. They set forth, and keep clearly before the mind, the fundamental truth that the manifestation of Godhead in the mystery of the Incarnation is a different and superadded manifestation from the manifestation of Godhead in created being and the light of nature. This is a truth that cannot be too distinctly emphasised, and it is impossible for any one who professes to be a Christian not to admit its necessity and importance. But when the two lights are removed to give place to a blaze of lights setting forth the greater and the lesser Saints, we have transgressed the line between ritual propriety and the doubtful accessories of Roman ceremonialism. We are bound moreover, to recognise the fact that there are certain characteristics of Anglican ritual, both in the way of arrangement and exhortation, which cannot be set aside without tampering with that which is fundamental and obligatory. It is not the case that in the Greek Liturgy

or in the Roman Liturgy, we have the ideal Liturgy to which we are bound to conform. It is true of the Liturgies as it is of the Gospels themselves, that they are a growth, and in every case partake of the nature of the soil in which they grew, as well as of the peculiar atmosphere in which they took shape, and were expanded into form and proportion. It is just as vain to look for an ideal Liturgy as it is with the German critics to search after an original and model Gospel. As the Gospels were written to meet the wants of the Church, and grew out of the needs felt in different localities, so the Liturgies grew out of the devotional life of the faithful, and in every case bear the distinctive marks of the devotional habits of the portion of the Church from which they sprung. There is just as much difference in tone and feeling between the Eastern Liturgies and the Liturgies of the West as there is between S. Chrysostom and S. Augustine, between the philanthropic spirit of the one and the misanthropic spirit of the other.

The Mozarabic rite is different from the Roman, and the Gallican differs from both. Each bears the stamp of the devotional habit and tone of mind which fostered it and gave it life. There are, indeed, as we have said, certain great typical features common to all liturgies, marking that it is the one Spirit which animates all, but here, as elsewhere, the living germ shapes and fashions itself in accordance with the nature of the soil in which it grows. We have in like manner our Anglican rite with its own distinctive characteristics, telling of the time and the people in the midst of which it struck root and grew. We have also our Scottish-American rite, with its own marked features and its own distinctive peculiarities. We are not bound by Greek models, nor by Roman models, nor by Gallican models, nor by Mozarabic models. We have our own liturgical growth, rooted in our own Anglo-Saxon character, grown under our native skies, transplanted by our forefathers to our own western world, there to be developed and fashioned under the conditions of time and experience by the silent processes of a true growth, as the Spirit of God shall order and

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direct. Now, the distinctive feature of the Anglican and American rite is in the greater prominence given in the Oblation to the action of the whole body of the faithful in connection with the devout and intelligent preparation of the holy gifts, that in them and with them they may, with the whole Church, be presented as a sacrifice of a sweet smell, well pleasing unto God. Anglican ritual, as partaking of the characteristics of the Anglo-Saxon mind, is not content with mere æstheticism or ceremonial, or outward form and expression, however magnificent they may in themselves be. It asks for an intelligent apprehension and understanding of the thing done, and the offering in connection with it, the grateful devotion of the heart in thanksgiving. Man is a complex being, made up of body, soul, and spirit. And it is the part of true religion to give to each of the component elements of his nature the satisfaction it craves in entering into union and fellowship with its Maker. The senses have their place in offering unto God just as much as the reason and the imagination; and the religion which ignores sensible representation will infallibly degenerate into barren and idle speculation, as Calvinism has done. But the religion which has regard only to the senses and does not seek to lift the worshipper up to an intellectual and spiritual apprehension of the thing first represented through the medium of material symbols will assuredly degenerate into a low and grovelling superstition. It is not the fault of the Greek and the Roman Churches that they use pictures as an aid to devotion, it is their fault that they do not seek to educate the masses of the people committed to their care up to an intellectual and spiritual apprehension of the things represented by the picture, and do not call into action, as a safeguard against materialism and fetichism, the aid of the logical faculties to discriminate between things that differ. A religion, it is true, may be too mystical, just as it may be too intellectual and doctrinal; but it is also true that it is the bounden duty of the corporate Church to preserve in her worship the balance between the sensible, the

actual, and the mystical, and give to each its own in the great act of corporate worship. Preaching out prayer is a mistake; so also is prayer without singing. Choral Matins without a celebration is like elaborate grace before an empty feast. A mumbled where there is no attempt to prepare the mind of worshipper for an intelligent and devout participation in the solemn function is little more than fetichism. Fault is found with the variations in the Ordinary and Oblation of the Anglican rite from the order observed in other Western rites, and it is maintained that the oration, the Prayer of humble access, and the *Gloria Excelsis* in the Post-communion, are out of place. This is a theoretical and abstract view of the matter. When we consider the nature and object of the Preface in the Anglican rite, it would be out of place to follow it by the Angelic Hymn. When it is urged that the oration breaks in upon the flow of devotion, it is forgotten that the action does not properly begin until after *Sursum Corda*, and that it is the aim of the Oblation in the Anglican rite to prepare the minds and hearts of people for the reverent presentation of the sacred

The same distinction was made under the Jewish rite. It was the duty of the presenter of the gift to kill and to flay the victim, and to divide it into bits; priestly action properly begun with the sprinkling of blood upon the altar, and the arranging of the victim in the form of a cross) upon the wood upon the fire that burned continually before the Presence. We have in Levitical law the basis of the distinction between the *naphora* and the *anaphora* of the Christian rite. The *naphora* is the *Eucharistia* proper, in which the gifts are offered unto God as the Sovereign Bestower of all, and is completed in the Second Oblation; the *hora* is the sanctification of the gifts by pleading in them with them the merits and death and passion of the Eternal Son. If the reader will examine with care the comparative table already referred to in Hammond's manual, he will find that the Roman rite, as contrasted with the Greek and the Gallican and the Mozarabic Lit-

urgies, is singularly defective in the service of the Preparation of the Gifts, just as it is defective in the acknowledgment of the HOLY GHOST as the instrument of sanctification. It confines itself almost entirely to the act of redemption without reference, as in the Greek rite, more especially to the gifts of GOD the Father in creation, and the work of the HOLY GHOST, as has been said, in sanctification. Now in these two particulars we can fairly claim that our American rite is superior to the Roman. It has its defects, but they are to be remedied in time and with due care. What we want first of all is an appreciation of our heritage, and a spirit of loyalty in the maintenance of it. Before we begin the work of liturgical enrichment, we ought to undertake the work of liturgical revival. We are to learn to use what we have, before we make new ventures in things not yet familiar. We need to provide for liturgical enrichment and greater flexibility of use, and the way to do it is to ask our own Upper House to appoint out of their own number a Commission, who shall call to their aid men well skilled in liturgical science, and with a Commission appointed by the Convocation of Canterbury, and the Scottish Church, aided in like manner by English scholars, shall give themselves to the work of removing whatsoever time and experience shall have proved to be obsolete, and of supplying whatsoever advancing knowledge shall witness to, as calculated to perfect the work which the Fathers of the Anglican Reformation so well begun, and to which the members of the Anglican Reformation owe a tribute of devout and grateful acknowledgment.

THOMAS RICHEY.

SCRIPTURE AND TRADITION.

he Religion of Protestants a Safe Way of Salvation.

Chillingworth's Works. London, 1719.

he Commonitory of Vincent of Lerins. Baltimore, 1817.

atholic Dogma, the Antidote of Doubt. By the Rt.

Rev. Wm. E. McLaren, S. T. D. New York, 1883.

TWO centuries and a half ago the "immortal work" first named above was being produced in defence of the ground on which the Church of England had taken her stand. Her chief antagonist was Rome. Her champion, Chillingworth, was contending with Knott, the Jesuit. The Council of Trent closed its session seventy years before. From that Council had gone forth the twelve articles of the Creed of Pius IV. as articles of faith joined the twelve articles of the Apostles' Creed. Transubstantiation, papal supremacy, purgatory, and other novelties of that modern creed were put forth as essential articles of belief, as terms of communion. *The Church an infallible living judge in matters of faith* was the ground on which the Jesuit pleaded the authority of Rome. Chillingworth had once yielded to that plea, and under that plea had sought to find his doubts allayed. A residence of a month or two at Douay opened his eyes, and he came back to the older and the surer foundation on which the Reformed Church of England had rested her claim to hold the true Catholic Faith. For five years he laboured on his work, *The Religion of Protestants a Safe Way of Salvation*. In the sixth chapter is the famous axiom: "*The Bible, I say, the Bible only, is the Religion of Protestants,*" and he shortly adds:—

I for my part, after a long and (as I verily believe and hope) impartial search of the true way to eternal happiness, do profess plainly that I cannot find any rest for the sole of my foot, but upon this rock

only. I see plainly, and with mine own eyes, that there are popes against popes, councils against councils, some fathers against others, the same fathers against themselves, a consent of the fathers of one age against a consent of fathers of another age, the Church of one age against the Church of another age. Traditive interpretations of Scripture are pretended, but there are few or none to be found; no tradition but only of Scripture, can derive itself from the fountain; but may be plainly proved either to have been brought in in such an age, after CHRIST, or that in such an age it was not in. In a word, there is no sufficient certainty but of Scripture only, for any considering man to build upon. This, therefore, and this only, I have reason to believe; this I will profess, according to this I will live, and for this if there be occasion, I will not only willingly, but even gladly lose my life, etc.

Here Chillingworth, "that man of reason" and of conscience, found his *antidote for doubt*. Our object, in this brief inquiry, is to ascertain what relation, if any, *dogma* sustained to it.

Dogma is something taught; taught by authority; the word in its theological sense may thus be defined:—

The statement of a truth, believed to be of Divine origin, hence considered settled, and therefore to be taught and received. Are there any such *dogmas* in a true Christianity? Any settled facts and statements of truths, taught with some authority? We do not say *infallible* authority, but with such authority as decides matters, for a time at least; which guides decisions? Is the *Bible* and *the Bible only*, without note or comment, to be put into the hands of the student of Divine truth, that he may frame out of it his system of belief, each one for himself? What was probably the idea of Chillingworth, two hundred and fifty years ago? Enormous since then has been the growth of sects and heresies springing into temporary life, each claiming to rest on the written Word, and appealing to the *Bible* and *the Bible only*. In all fairness to the illustrious author, we must bear in mind the difference between his day and ours; and consider when his grand argument was constructed, and against whom it was wielded.

Cattermole says very truly, "Not every one who quotes this sentence 'The Bible, I say, and the Bible only,' carries with him the true sense of the author." The

Church of England gave to the world our English Bible. She appeals to it in support of her doctrine; saying [Art. VI.] that nothing can be deemed "necessary to salvation that cannot be proved thereby." . . . The Creeds are to be believed "because they may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scriptures." She gives her children these ancient Creeds, short, simple statements of facts, teaches them as the *dogmas* of Revelation, and then puts into their hands the open Bible to see if they be not true. These articles of the ancient Creeds are the analogy of its truth, the key to its harmonious interpretation. Nothing contrary to that Word can be true and right; nothing outside that Word can be deemed essential. No tradition about anything not in Scripture comes from the Apostles; or as Chillingworth quaintly puts it, "no tradition, but only of Scripture can derive itself from the fountain." As a matter of fact, tradition about transubstantiation, purgatory, indulgences, etc., may be so proved "to have been brought in in such an age after CHRIST, or at such an age were not in." But these ancient Creeds, statements of facts with which Scripture is fraught, these tenets of an early united Church, these *dogmas* of Apostolic teaching do come down from the fountain head, and may not only "be proved by most certain warrants" of the Written Word, but proved also to have been taught and held before it was fully determined what *was* the Written Word, and even before a line of it *was written*.

No institution rests upon its writings. The institution is founded, and organised and extends, and its records grow up around it. The Church of the New Testament existed and spread. Believers were added to it by baptism; the meaning of the Triune Name was taught; the substance of JESUS' instructions, the facts of Redemption, were imparted by Apostles commissioned for the purpose, instructed by the risen LORD, and then specially endowed by the HOLY SPIRIT, who brought accurately to their memories whatsoever *He* had said, and so guided them into all necessary truth. Years before S. Matthew wrote a line of the first Gospel, these authoritative

dogmas were communicated and received. Christianity rested on them before any of them were incorporated into the New Testament. The inestimable value of Scripture is to keep the Church *true to her ancient dogmas*.

Of this principle of the English Reformation, Chillingworth was a champion: The written Record—and not the Roman Church claiming to be infallible—the judge in all controversies; and when disagreement arises as to the meaning of Scripture, then reference to the teaching of that age of the Church nearest to the time when the record was made. It is a principle recognised in our courts. When the meaning of the organic law or of the statute is disputed, what is the recourse? Is it not to contemporaneous opinion; and especially contemporaneous and subsequent practice? The decision thus reached may not be *infallible* always, *but it rules*.

Such the general principle of Chillingworth's great work. It came out nearly a century after the English national Church freed herself of Roman tyranny and was re-established in her ancient faith. Already the mischievous error of unrestrained private interpretation had spread, and heresies and sects were everywhere starting up. Chillingworth was no champion of this unbridled license in the use of Sacred Scripture. And he guarded against this error in his rear while he confronted the Jesuit foe. Both as to the question what are the *books* of Scripture, and what are the essential *tenets* of Scripture, he appeals to the authority of the Church primitive and Catholic against the present Roman Church, self-styled infallible.

Quoting the VI. Article of Religion, "in the name of the Holy Scripture we do understand those canonical books of the Old and New Testament of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church," he says to Knott (*italics ours*), "You demand what Protestants mean by them? Are they assured by the *Church's consent* what Scriptures be *Canonical*? I answer *Yes*. And whereas you infer that that is to make the Church judge,—I have told you already that of this controversy *we make the Church the judge*; but not the present

Church, much less the present Roman Church ; but the *consent and testimony of the ancient and primitive Church*. Which though it be but a *highly probable* inducement, and no demonstrative enforcement, yet methinks, you should not deny but it may be a *sufficient ground of faith*." [*Chil. Works*. London, 1719, p. 48, or ch. II. 15.]

Again, "The conclusion of your 10th § is, that 'the Divinity of a writing cannot be known from itself alone, but by some extrinsical authority;' which you need not prove, for no wise man denies it. But then this is that of *Universal Tradition*, not of your Church [*Ibid.*, p. 50, or ch. II. 46]. And a little above, "Your Church's infallibility is not built on it (universal tradition), and the *canon of Scripture is*" [p. 50, ch. II. 45]. Again, "If there be any traditive interpretation of Scripture, produce it, and prove it to be so, and *we will embrace it*. But the tradition of all ages is one thing, and the authority of the present Church, much more of the Roman Church, which is but a part, and a corrupt part, of the Catholic Church, is another. And, therefore, though *we are ready to receive both Scripture and the interpretation of Scripture* upon the authority of *Original Tradition*, yet we receive neither the one nor the other upon the authority of your Church" [p. 61, or ch. II. 89]. Again he grants the Church in her traditions to be as infallible as the Scripture is, "if the tradition be as universal as the tradition of the undoubted books of Scripture is" [*Ibid.*, p. 82, ch. II. 84]. Again, "Nothing besides Scripture comes to us with as full a stream of tradition as Scripture" [p. 82, ch. II. 155].

And in this VI. chapter, where this memorable phrase occurs, "*the Bible*, I say, and the Bible only," etc., in antagonism to the pretended infallibility of a Church teaching as Articles of Faith transubstantiation, purgatory, papal supremacy, and other novelties, Chillingworth insists, that in the Apostles' Creed are all necessary points of belief. He appeals to Scripture, but recognises the necessity of an appeal to "*universal tradition*," to use his own words, over and over again. And finally, in his

Reasons against Popery, his letter to Mr. Lewgar, he enumerates twenty-three strange things, and concludes with these unmistakable words:—

I wonder . . . that Vincentius Lirenensis, seeking for a rule of his faith and a preservation from heresy, should be ignorant of this so ready an one, — the infallibility of the Church of Rome.

All these things, and many more, are strange to me, if the infallibility of the Roman Church be indeed, and were always by Christians acknowledged to be, the foundation of our faith; and therefore I beseech you to pardon me if I choose to build mine upon one that is much firmer and safer, and lies open to none of these objections, which is SCRIPTURE AND UNIVERSAL TRADITION [p. 304].

Now who than Chillingworth may be taken as a truer expounder of the principles of the English Reformation? And, like many others in those days, he, while facing the Jesuit, was assailed even more furiously by the Puritan behind. This very book, on which rests his fame, was denounced by those who, affecting to hold to the *Bible only*, treated it with the most unbridled license, making it teach anything and everything that their fancies and theories required. He died in adversity. His "enemies were the chief." One of them, the fanatical Puritan Cheynel, stood by his grave, and cast this very book of Chillingworth in upon the coffin that contained his body, with this most astonishing malediction upon both:—

Get thee gone thou cursed book which has seduced so many precious souls,—get thee gone into the place of rottenness, that thou mayest rot with thy author and see corruption.

Enough, and more than enough, to show to many who quote oracularly that stereotyped motto, *the Bible and the Bible only the Religion of Protestants*, that they do not carry with them the sense of the author. He, like Ridley in his *Conferences*, like Cranmer in his *Appeal*, like Jewell in his *Apology and Challenge*, like Field *On the Church*, like Hooker in his *Polity*, like Morton in his *Catholic Appeal*, and many other champions of the English Church in the XVI. and XVII. centuries recognised the ground of their Reformed Church to be *Holy Scripture* as against the Infallibility of the present Church,

and an *Appeal to Primitive Antiquity* on disputed and essential points.*

Vincent of Lerins, quoted by Chillingworth, stood in the V. century where stood Chillingworth in the XVII. The rule to detect error is by him thus worded, 1st, The authority of the Law of GOD, and 2d, *The tradition of the Catholic Church*. This was the very principle of the English Reformation. The Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia may say, as it does, that it is "the most complete representation of the *Roman* (!) Catholic doctrine of tradition;" and Churchmen too sometimes reiterate the condemnation like one of Bishop McLaren's reviewers in the *January* CHURCH REVIEW; not thinking that they by so doing are knocking away from under our feet all the foundation on which stand the Reformed Church of England, and her world-embracing branches, as distinguished from any of the uncounted sects who claim to stand by the principle of *the Bible only*. If the Vincentian Rule is to be "relegated," as Mr. Ames says [CHURCH REVIEW, *January*, p. 166], "to the limbo of exploded frauds," let Chillingworth's *Religion of Protestants* go along with it. Let Mr. Ames stand by Cheynell, and hurl both of them into the grave of the great expounder of Vincent's Rule; who threw down at the feet of his Jesuit foe the challenge, to stand if he could on this firmer and safer foundation of his faith, SCRIPTURE AND *Universal Tradition*.

We are well aware that this word *tradition* is to many very objectionable. So is the word *Catholic*. Both words are *ours*. Let us restore them to their true meaning, and hold and use them. We cannot afford to let the Romanist usurp the right to be considered to be the *true*

* See Palmer, *Treatise on the Church*, Pt. II. ch. vi., *On the Principles of the English Reformation*. He shows also, Pt. I. ch. xii. § 3, that the Lutherans and other Continental reformers set out on the same foundation. One passage from Palmer is here introduced.

"In England the supremacy and sufficiency of Scripture was most rightly maintained, not against a Catholic Tradition teaching the *same doctrine as Scripture itself*, and therefore strictly confirmatory of Scripture, but against a tradition imagined to convey articles of faith *in addition* to those which Scripture maintained," . . . "Thus the authority of Catholic Tradition was recognised by the *Church of England* and by *all our learned theologians*," pp. 493, 498. Lond. ed., 1839, Pt. II. ch. vi., and the chapter is crowded with authorities.

Catholic and to hold the *true tradition*. That eminent Evangelical Joseph Milnor, of the last century, well defines Vincent's rule against the slashing Encyclopedist of the present, —

With him, besides the testimony of Scripture, universality and antiquity are added as essential and concurring requisites of the evidence of orthodoxy; and *though Popery can by no means stand the test of them* (for it had not as yet existed in the Church), it has notwithstanding availed itself of its rules and pressed them into its service.*

It is for us to wrest this stolen weapon from the Romans' grasp, and show, as Chillingworth did by its ready use, that it is ours and not theirs.

Consider what the word *tradition* meant in Vincent's day, A. D. 437. S. Paul bade the early Christians "stand and hold fast the *traditions* which ye have been taught by word or our epistle."† The traditions of that early united age, so fresh and pure from Jesus and His inspired Apostles, served a very important purpose. Those early Christians must have obeyed S. Paul quite well down to Vincent's time. He was as near to the Apostles almost as we are to the Reformers. Through all these early centuries the Church had continued a visible body of faithful men. Teachers of error had arisen to draw away disciples after them. Their numerous heresies and sects have long since been forgotten. Most of them perished even before Vincent's day; just as the vast majority of the three or four hundred sects that have arisen in England and on the Continent since Chillingworth's day have passed entirely from memory. The Church was no mere congregation, but an organised body of faithful men with rites and rules and officers, and so perpetuated itself, while the individuals composing it continually disappeared. It was the age of unity, of peace, and of power. It was the age which by its practice settled finally what are the Canonical Books of Scripture, and, along with the Bible, transmitted the Creeds, as her summary of essential truth, the Faith once for all delivered to the saints. The third Universal Council adjourned three years before Vincent

* *Hist. of the Ch. of Christ, Cent. V. ch. xiii.*

† 2 Thess. ii. 15.

published his book. The fourth and last of those undisputed Councils met just after his death. Christianity was the established religion. Other sects and heresies were springing into life. At such a time as this Vincent wrote his *Commonitory*. It became a recognised authority. To it the reformers of the Church of England appealed at the Reformation to vindicate her claim, first against Rome and then against the sects, to be *primitive* and hence *Apostolic*.

Vincent anticipates the objection to his rule raised then, and raised now. After stating his rule he says [Ch. II. § 2]:—

Here, perhaps, some one will ask, ‘*What need is there, seeing that the Canon of Scripture is perfect, and suffices to the full and more for all demands, that the authority of the interpretation of the Church should be added to it?*’ Because the Holy Scripture for its very depth is not taken of all in one and the same sense.

Would that these ponderous words might be deeply lodged in the hearts of all who lament our unhappy divisions. The fact is apparent. Earnest men, thoughtful men, praying men, do not take Holy Scripture in *one and the same sense* even in those principles of faith and order necessary to unity. Is there no appeal to some authority to which all will bow? We of the one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church ought not to need to be told that it is an appeal to the age when the Church was one, when the Books of Scripture were settled, and the Creeds of a united Christendom were promulgated.

Of course we make *tradition* to mean something very different from that for which the Romanist contends. “No tradition but of Scripture,” as Chillingworth puts it, “can derive itself from the fountain.” The *dogmas* of the early united Church were what the *ecclesia docens* had received from the Apostles before they were written in the New Testament, and by a *true tradition* had handed down. The Books of Scripture and the Articles of the Creeds were themselves the result of *tradition*. A *true tradition* means the handing down of such *dogmas* of the Apostolic age as give the clear statement of what the early united Church held as to the meaning of the Scrip-

tures on certain important points. These *dogmas* are for the most part the articles of the Creed, and such truths or facts as are inseparably connected with an Article of the Creed; *e. g.*, this Article, "One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church." The *dogmas* of the early Church state its visibility, its two Sacraments, the admission of infants to one, of women to the other; by what kind of a ministry administered, etc. True *dogmas* state nothing not contained in Scripture.* The *dogmas* handed down, or rather claimed to have been handed down by the *tradition* so called of the Romish Church, are very often not even alluded to in Scripture, are entirely outside of Scripture.

Those Churchmen know not what they do when they disparage or reject this ultimate appeal to the Catholic Church, on those points which divide into varying and contentious sects those who claim to hold to the Scriptures of truth. There are three courses before us: 1st, to acquiesce in these divisions of the Christian household; 2d, to yield to the claims of a Roman infallibility, and admit that her dogma and her tradition are Catholic and true; or 3d, to seek the primitive ground of an actual unity, and hold the *true* tradition taught by the Apostles in word and in writing to the Apostolic Church, the Faith *once for all* delivered to the saints and handed down, held fast as a sacred deposit, as the only ground of possible unity again.

The rule of Vincent is not so hard of application to one who is willing to be led, and is ready to yield to what Chillingworth calls "a highly probable inducement." Indeed the application is made already by the history of the undivided Church. Where it went the Spirit of Truth led as surely as Israel's host followed the pillar of fire and cloud which only the foremost could always see.

Two lawyers have sat in judgment on Bishop Mc-

* So far as Creeds go, the dogmas of the Church are the dogmas of Revelation and none other. The same may be said of the decrees or doctrines enumerated by the four (Ecumenical Councils, etc. *Is Dogma a necessity.* By F. Meyrick. London, 1883, p. 63. The title of the chapter is, "*The Dogmas of the Church of England, and of the Church Catholic, identical with those of Scripture.*"

Laren's book, and on his admirer in the *July* number of the CHURCH REVIEW. One of them quotes Chillingworth without seeming to be aware that he is one who carries not, with Chillingworth's famous phrase, "the true sense of the author." And the other seems (see paragraph on pp. 54, 55, *January* REVIEW, notices of "two or three scattered statements") to utterly fail to grasp the argument of the Bishop or the meaning of his defender. He seems like a *lawyer* trying a case, and not like a judge. Indeed his second quibble about the phrase "coeval with the Word itself" is beneath contempt. They both reject the Vincentian rule, the distinctive basis on which we stand, distinguished from that of Rome on the one hand and the multitudinous sects of Protestantism on the other. Verily it is not the first time that lawyers "have taken away the key of knowledge."

Vincent's book against heretics was written in the Vth century. The Church was still *one*. The Canon of Scripture was complete. The Apostles and Nicene Creeds were in nearly their present form. The Scripture and the essential doctrines of the Scripture had been verified by "*tradition* derived," as Chillingworth says, "from the fountain." Let us go back two centuries toward that Apostolic fountain. The Canon of Scripture was not yet definitely established. The Apostles' Creed, in its present concise form, cannot be proved to have been then in existence. But Tertullian in Africa gives the summary of it in his own phraseology, its doctrines the same, and the sequence of doctrine the same. He says that this Creed had ever and everywhere by all believers been held that CHRIST taught it to His Apostles, transmitted the whole of it, founded Churches on it, and that the Church then everywhere held it; and then he concludes, "When that which is deposited among many is found to be one and the same, it is not the result of error but of *tradition*. Can any one then be reckless enough to say that they were in error who handed on the *tradition*?"*

Go back about a generation further toward the foun-

* *Prescrip. against Heretics*. Edin. ed. 1870, cc. xiii.-xxviii.

tain. Irenæus, in Europe, is writing against Heresies. He uses this language: "The Church throughout the world has received from the Apostles and their disciples this Faith: She believes in one God," etc., in language of his own, but doctrines and the sequence very nearly the same as Tertullian, and the substance the same. He then adds: "As I have already observed, the Church, having received this preaching and this Faith, although scattered throughout the whole world, yet, as if occupying but one house, carefully preserves it. . . . For although the languages of the world are dissimilar, yet the import of the *tradition* is one and the same."*

This is the latter part of the II. century. Two generations separated Irenæus from the last of the Holy Apostles. Three generations before, S. Paul had written, "Keep the traditions which ye have been taught by word or our Epistle." Irenæus and Tertullian, standing about midway to Vincent, show how the traditions had been preserved, and they do so by a most exact application of the same rule which Vincent repeats, "*always, everywhere, and by all.*"†

We had not seen Bishop McLaren's book when we read the criticism in the REVIEW. We took it up expecting to find ideas about the presence of CHRIST in His Body the Church, and an infallibility of judgment now residing in it that deserved the frequent denunciation. To our mind a few sentences should have been more guarded, *e. g.*, the interpretation of the text, the Spirit of Truth "*shall guide you into all truth*" [pp. 44, 45]; and the theorising about the Saviour's presence after His ascension [p. 37], which suggest the error of the ubiquity of His glorified humanity. But other utterances seem to correct these, and the work is only another, and in some portions a very forcible and a timely presentation of an old principle, put forth by S. Paul and other Apostles, and urged again and again by Irenæus and Tertullian and Vincent of the age of unity, Cranmer and Jewell and others of the Reforma-

* *Irenæus against Heresies*. Edin. ed. 1868. Book 1, c. x. 1, 2.

† *Com.* c. iii.

tion period, and Chillingworth, Beveridge, Palmer, Hobart, and Hopkins, and a host of other orthodox Churchmen since. There are in the book many solid brilliant gems of truth, *e. g.*, "The Body of Dogma is the Catholic Creeds" [p. 48], "In every truth of our religion we should expect to find an inscrutable factor" [p. 55], "The Gospel was the Gospel before it was written" [p. 67], and this, which sets forth that more elevating, assuring, and inspiring truth, of the perpetual abiding in the Church of the Spirit of Truth, which in '*Catholic Dogma*' is the high and leading idea [p. 76], "Thus the stream of tradition of which S. Paul makes mention, the product equally of an inspired ministry orally delivering, and of an inspired Church receiving, would flow purely through the generations, the LORD caring for His Own Truth. And this was the method which our LORD actually selected as the means by which to perpetuate the original deposit."

And so we must conclude that true Catholic Dogma is an Antidote to Doubt. Such is the present state of the Christian world, that the remedy will hardly be much taken. But statements of essential truth, "proved by most certain warrant of Holy Scripture," and then by universal tradition proved to have been in the early days of unity received as *both proved and essential*, will tend to lead a distracted Christendom to the ancient platform of unity, *Evangelical Truth and Apostolical Order*. The Church to be one must be one with herself in every place and in every age. If that day shall again dawn, doubt will be dispelled; for the Master's prayer will then be answered, and its result made everywhere apparent, — "that they may all be one . . . *that the world may believe that Thou didst send Me.*"

SAMUEL BENEDICT.

THE ORIGIN AND STRUCTURE OF THE PENTATEUCH.

The Pentateuch: Its Origin and Structure. An Examination of Recent Theories. By EDWARD CONE BISSELL, D. D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1885.

THE above-named book will no doubt be read with great interest not only by students of the Pentateuch but by all earnest-minded Christians, who are aware of the many questions vigorously discussed concerning the authorship, date, and sources of those books, commonly, and at one time universally, attributed to Moses, and assigned to the period of the Exodus of the Israelites.

The author of the treatise under review, while not shrinking from the examination of even the most radical and contumelious theories, exhibits everywhere a devout and reverent spirit, thoroughly permeated, not only with an intellectual confidence in the reality of Divine revelation, but also with a sincere appreciation of its value to work out in the soul the blessings of eternal peace and joy. The sections on "The Law and the Prophets," and "The Law and the Psalms," might be read with profit by those who cared but little for the mere critical examination. Thus of the Prophets he writes:—

The great first principles of religion, the being and personality of God, His government by a plan which literally leaves nothing out, the inexorable law of righteousness, the innate ugliness and clinging curse of sin, these were not with them matters of technical philosophical discussion, but fixed and overwhelming motives. On them they planted themselves and there they rested, as on an immovable fulcrum, the mighty lever of their influence over men.

What, indeed, is more pitiful in human story, — tragic, one might say, if it were regarded simply as human story, — than the lives of some of these men? It was just this sharp antagonism between a

sense of imperative duty and all the kindly impulses of the human heart that wrung from them such touching exclamations as abound in their writings.

What more natural than that these grand old Prophets, if so be that they were true Prophets of God, standing firm where Priests and people had fallen away, should do this very work? That they should see and should hold up the spiritual side of the Mosaic laws and institutions, should insist upon it, emphasise it, and all the more because of the enormous exaggeration of the merely outward by their contemporaries?

Again, in the section on "The Law and the Psalms," commenting on the verbal allusions to passages in the Pentateuch, he says, —

There is nothing more marked in the Hebrew poetical literature of the later times, or more full of sparkle, it may be added, than these gems borrowed from the ancient songs. Their setting may be changed, but they have a lustre, wherever found, peculiarly their own. Here is one, for instance, from the memorable pæan of victory chanted by the Israelites on their escape from Pharaoh and the Red Sea. It is set in the crown of composition; 'Jehovah is a *man of war*, Jehovah is his name.'

Who could ever forget the bold metaphor? There is scarcely any end to the changes that are rung upon it from Moses down. To David, himself a man of war, it offered the very thought that he needed for many an impassioned utterance like that which introduced the following outburst [Psalm xxxv. 1, 2]: —

Strive, O Thou JEHOVAH! with them that strive with me;
Fight Thou against them that fight against me.
Grasp the shield and buckler,
And arise in my defence.

When setting forth the many references to the Levitical law contained in the 51st Psalm, the author's own heart cannot resist the quickening influence of the Psalmist's expression of deep humiliation and of perfect trust in the goodness and mercy of God. He breaks forth into the earnest appeal, —

Disparaging sacrifices! As a sufficient means of purification and pardon, as the final and only ground of hope — yes. How could he do otherwise? The man who knows what it is to be a sinner *against GOD* (ver. 6) does not need any Epistle to the Hebrews to inform him that his ultimate appeal must be to God. Disparaging sacrifices! As an eloquent tribute of deepest human feeling and longing, whether of penitence or gratitude — no. . . . There were circumstances, he immediately goes on to say, when God could 'delight in

sacrifices, in burnt offerings and whole burnt offerings.' It was when His altars really smoked for Him. It was when the offering really brought together the offerer and Him who was offered to ; when it had ceased to be a barrier and had become a bond and channel of spiritual communion. The whole spirit of the Psalms shows that this is the deeper thought which underlies the figure and writes in one the otherwise incoherent utterances of the contrite singer.

Though the author of the work under review everywhere exhibits a devout and earnest Christian feeling, he fails not to characterise in fitting terms the many contradictions and absurdities of recent theorists, in reference to the origin and growth of the Pentateuch. Both a keen sense of humor and a just indignation cause him at times to break forth into well-merited sarcasm, provoked by the preposterous assumption of knowledge where all is conjecture, and the supercilious contempt for those who venture to differ from the oracular pre-terminations of the so-called scientific critics.

When examining the fanciful assertion that the fiction of the Tabernacle arose from a backward projection of the Temple of Solomon into the distant past, that it was but an ideal picture painted by some Babylonian exile, the author asks : —

How then, on any proper principles of historical development, is the temple itself to be accounted for? Perhaps, however, so inopportune a query will be regarded as also an impertinence. Given the theory that you have an elephant and a tortoise for the earth to rest its crushing weight upon, what difference can it make whether it be elephant or tortoise that is left dangling in the abyss.

Speaking of the use made by Wellhausen of the apparent discrepancies in the various documents, between which vast intervals of time are placed, but which are at length combined to produce what is called "The Priest's Code," the author's indignation vents itself in the sarcasm : —

He puts them (the documents) so far apart indeed, that only a man as sagacious as the final redactor of the Pentateuch could ever have seen any connection between them, or (only) one with his characteristic temerity have (ever) thought to harmonise them as a common product of the Mosaic period. But all critics fortunately have not to struggle with so credulous an incredulity as that of Julius Wellhausen.

ealing with the reiterated assertion that the original entic Deuteronomy makes no claim to be the work of Moses, but that all the passages which appear to do were inserted at a late period, merely to hoodwink people into believing Moses to be the author of a which really had no existence before the time of which, the author exclaims ;—

this be invention it matters not in what king's reign or under prophetic or priestly sanction it was invented ; its impudence and dishonesty were only equalled by the stupidity of the people that did not discover that it was so, or discovering and knowing it have not made a sign that they accepted it otherwise than as literal

the moral and ethical impossibility of such a character as Moses being the fraudulent invention of a degenerate age is set forth in vigorous language.

the crowning inconsistency which I find in the methods and conclusions of our critics is that, while busy with codes and their proper position among the centuries, they have strangely overlooked the man himself, have completely failed to account for the character of such a character as that of Moses and the unique portrayal of the Pentateuch. Dazzled, as it should seem, by the glare of their theories, they have never fully gauged the magnitude of the problem they have undertaken to solve. When the destructive critics of the New Testament have finished their work, if such a supposition be possible, and torn piecemeal the four histories of our LORD, parcelling the fragments to different hands and different times, there will remain untouched, and forever above the reach of critical experts, the peerless CHRIST to be accounted for ; and here in like manner is the Moses of the Pentateuch, coming with radiant face from God's presence. A greater miracle than JESUS he is called, if he be a product of the early age. But is it easier then to believe that a priestly man of Josiah's time and Ezra's time made him, than that God made him ? As a gift of GOD's good providence, sent for a special purpose, the character is intelligible. It has been ever so in human history, that great sons of their times have, sooner or later, responded to the clarion call of great opportunities. But as the puppet show, the result of some hocus-pocus of Jehovist and Elohist, Chronologist and Redactor, a mere toy picture, made of blocks, carved and painted by different hands — that strains our credulity. It is incredible.

the author brings forward many admissions of rationalistic writers to show that the real objection to receiving the Pentateuch as the work of Moses, having a few

(and those very few) supplementary statements and explanatory notes inserted by later hands, is after all based not upon historical and philological criticism, but upon preconceived theories of what ought to be the order and sequence of the growth of religious belief and ceremony. Thus when the allusions of Amos and Hosea are adduced to show that the "Priest's Code" was at least earlier than those Prophets, the answer of Wellhausen is, "Passages out of Amos and Hosea may be adduced which are supposed to show acquaintance with the 'Code of the Priests;' upon him, however, who holds them to be earlier than it, they can make no impression." Of course, if it is assumed as indisputable that the "Priest's Code" is post-exilian, no amount of evidence can overthrow the foregone conclusion.

It is charged upon the advocates of the common historical belief that their premise of a Divine revelation, accredited by prophecy and miracle, leaves them no option. The same may fairly be retorted against those who substitute for it the fixed premise of a simply natural development. Its defenders are no longer free. Their subsequent course of reasoning can only be regarded as predetermined and compulsory.

The rationalistic writers first form a theory, and then language, facts, witnesses, and ritual must all bend to that theory. Even the well settled conclusions of critics of their own school are summarily set aside if conflicting with the theory, and for no other reason than that they are conflicting.

The book of Joel has been acknowledged by many rationalistic critics to be the oldest, or one of the oldest, of the prophets. The character of the language; the historical allusions, Egyptians and Edomites being exclusively regarded as the enemies of Judah, while there is no allusion to Assyrians or Babylonians; as well as the subjects of the prophecies; all bear witness to the early date of Joel. But when it was seen that with such a date the book of Joel would not adapt itself to the new theory, the previous conclusions of criticism, however well founded, must be peremptorily set aside.

It is the exigency of the theory, mind you, that makes this require-

ment, nothing else. It is the dilemma into which they would be brought who say, that no traces of this "Code of the Priests" are discoverable before the exile, if this mighty prophet of Judah were allowed to stand in his place and give his testimony.

Everything in the historical books also which agrees not with the preconceived theory is discarded as a late interpolation. Even entire books are discredited simply because it is impossible to deny that the whole tenor of their narrative presupposes the existence of the full ceremonial law.

Thus Wellhausen sets aside the testimony of the books of "Kings," because, as he himself acknowledges, it is in open conflict with "the actual course of the centralisation of the cultus;" *i. e.* as he conceives it. In this "cultus" he distinguishes three stages: (1.) In the earliest documents plurality of altars was freely permitted; (2.) in the second stage, the age of Josiah, unity of worship is everywhere insisted on; (3.) while in the post-exilian age such variety of worship is "presupposed as a thing of the past and by means of the fiction of the tabernacle referred to the very earliest times." Of course when every passage alluding to the tabernacle or to a single authorised place of worship is first eliminated, it is easy to find no allusion to either in the historical books.

The chief difficulty in the establishment of such well-rounded theories has been to get rid of palpable contradiction on the part of hitherto accredited witnesses. But when the proof assigned for their untrustworthiness is sifted, it is found to be no more than the fact that they do contradict the theory.

One of the most important parts of the book under review is that section which gives an "Historical Sketch of the Criticism." This indeed is not a complete history, but only what it purports to be, "a sketch." It gives, however, a fair résumé and sufficient detail to estimate aright the character and results of that movement. A complete history would itself require a volume of no moderate dimensions. The mere names of authors and titles of their works occupy no less than sixty-five closely printed pages in an appendix.

During the whole period of ancient Jewish history and in the Christian Church until after the death of the last of the Apostles, the Pentateuch was universally received as the work of Moses. The first to challenge the Mosaic authorship of the entire Pentateuch were the heretical leaders and sceptics of the sub-apostolic age. Their objections, however, were entirely doctrinal, and not critical. They rejected such statements as conflicted with their peculiar tenets, but accepted many Mosaic enactments and rites as of binding obligation because appointed through Moses.

It was not until the XII. century that attention appears to have been turned to a truly critical examination of the authorship of the Pentateuch. At this period the study of the Hebrew Scriptures seems to have been almost exclusively confined to the Jewish Rabbinical schools into which had penetrated some of the same spirit of subtle investigation and doubt, which for a century or more had been exhibited in the controversies of the nominalists and realists among Christians.

One of the most noted of these critics was Aben Ezra. He took a very moderate position, not denying the Mosaic authorship in general, though alluding in an enigmatical manner to various passages which appeared to him doubtful in origin or meaning. These are in general such passages as on their face appear to be additions and explanations of later writers. Aben Ezra, however, calls to task and attempts to confute the bolder assertion of his contemporary, "a certain Isaac," that *Genesis* xxxvi. 31, in which allusion is made to kings, must have been written in the days of Jehoshaphat.

From this time on to the XVI. century no new or bolder positions seem to have been taken, and the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch was generally accepted. Meanwhile, however, Christian scholars had been paying greater attention to the study of Hebrew. In the XIII. century, among the few proficient Hebraists may be mentioned Roger Bacon. In the XIV. century Pope Clement V. ordered the Hebrew and other oriental languages to be taught in the public schools, that mis-

onaries might be properly instructed for the conversion of Jews and Mahometans. In the XV. century, a public professor of Hebrew, as well as Greek, was appointed in the University of Paris; and the Universities of Spain and Italy had obtained considerable eminence for the study of Oriental literature and antiquities. This increased knowledge of Semitic tongues paved the way for more intelligent criticism of the Hebrew Bible, and at the same time presented the opportunity for broaching the most extravagant theories.

It was in the XVI. century that the controversy over the authenticity of the books ascribed to Moses may be said to have really begun in earnest.

Andreas Bodenstein, who commonly goes by the name Carlstadt, from his native town in Franconia, had studied Scholastic philosophy and Canon law at Rome. At an early age he distinguished himself as a controversialist, and held the office of Rector of the University at Wittenberg. He adhered to the Scholastic theology till about A. D. 1517, when he went over to the side of Luther, but afterwards became his bitter opponent, adopting the tenets of Zwingli. After the death of Zwingli he became pastor and professor of theology at Basel.

Carlstadt not only denied the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, but declared the man "demented" who would attribute it to Moses. His arguments, however, present nothing new, and are of no critical value. The first twelve verses of *Deuteronomy*, he declares, could not have been written by Moses, but these exhibit the same style as the rest of the Pentateuch, hence none of the Pentateuch could have been written by Moses; a very curious specimen of logic, to say nothing of the evident lack of any just sense of what critical analysis means.

In this same century and the beginning of the seventeenth a number of writers followed Carlstadt, using substantially the same arguments, though not all drawing the same sweeping conclusion. Among them our author mentions Masius, a Roman Catholic priest of Belgium, whose book, though moderate in tone, was interdicted at

Rome; Hobbes of England; and Peyrère, a Frenchman.

With Spinoza, in the middle of the XVII. century, began a new era. He laid down as a fundamental postulate the rejection of supernatural revelation, miracles, and prophecy. Such a principle required all the books of the Old Testament, but especially the Pentateuch, to be largely remodelled. Spinoza also maintained that the Pentateuch was the work of some late compiler, not unlikely Ezra.

Le Clerc, a few years subsequently, broached the idea that the Pentateuch must have come into its present form at a much later period than the Exodus, and suggests that it is due to the priest sent from Babylon [2 *Kings* xvii. 27], after the capture of Samaria, to teach the new colonists "the manner of the God of the land."

Anton Van Dale, just at the close of the century, held the Pentateuch to have been constructed by Ezra, after the exile, out of the materials furnished him by such fragmentary records of Moses as the "Book of the Wars of God," the "Book of the Covenant," and the "Book of the Law," and also by the later historical records and the earlier Prophets.

In this second period of the history of Biblical criticism, we see the germs of the various theories that developed and bore such unwholesome fruit in the third and last period. Spinoza furnished the animating principle that has dominated and guided the whole course of the destructive critics; the uncompromising rejection of everything supernatural and miraculous. While the origin of the Pentateuch was ascribed partly to the times of the later kings, partly to the post-exilian era. Simon, Vitringa, and others had even remarked upon the varying usage of the two names of GOD, ELOHIM and JEHOVAH.

This previous outlining of the most modern theories, in a century when the true principles of criticism were imperfectly understood, and when arguments the most trivial and inadequate were adduced in its support, is a plain indication that the recent theories have not grown

naturity out of the criticisms; but the criticisms have been devised to sustain a preconceived theory, handed down to the present generation by those who made it birth two centuries ago.

In the middle of the XVIII. century began the third period in the development of Biblical criticism. In this period the theory of documents by various authors, and suggested revisions, was brought forward and by degrees carried to such an extent of refinement as virtually to be self-destructive.

Eugene Astruc called attention to the fact that "the names of GOD, ELOHIM and JEHOVAH, are not employed indiscriminately, but usually alternate with one another in what appear to be successive sections." The observation may be applied with some plausibility to the book *Genesis*, though even in this there are numerous singularities; but it utterly fails, when tested by the remaining books of the Pentateuch. The author's own view on the use of these names of GOD we deem so just that we here present it in full.

Why the two words Elohim and Jehovah alternate with one another so peculiarly in the earlier chapters of *Genesis* may be accounted for to some extent, by a theory of diverse original sources of information.

There is no disposition to deny that oral tradition, supported by our written documents, was very largely depended on in the composition of the work. But in *many cases* this peculiarity may be better accounted for by supposing that some specific moral purpose voiced itself in this way. What that purpose was it is not difficult in most cases even now to discover. It may be expected to appear more when the real meaning and inner relationships of the two words Elohim and Jehovah have been determined.

Throughout the Pentateuch there is a marked recognition of the meaning of names. No fact is more deeply impressed upon the history of the two chief Patriarchs, Abraham and Jacob. And if we

Elohistic and Jehovistic sections in *Genesis*, so we have in the *Leviticus* and other Scriptures. In fact we are much more likely to find a remedy to the anomalies of *Genesis* in the nineteenth Psalm, where the Creator ELOHIM, of the first part, is boldly discriminated from the Creator JEHOVAH, of the second part.

Ecclesiastes, too, the only title used for God is ELOHIM, while in *Proverbs* the case is reversed and JEHOVAH only occurs. So in *Job* while both titles are employed, it is in a way of unexampled eccentricity. If there be a secret, therefore, it is not one confined to

Genesis. It is, above all, no secret of Pentateuch criticism in general, whose conjectural solution it is permitted to make the corner-stone of all its ponderous architectures.

The most able maintainer of the double documentary theory of Astruc was Eichhorn; but he found it necessary to admit the interpolation of many fragmentary passages belonging to neither document. Other critics reduced the Pentateuch to such a mass of disconnected fragments that a reconstruction of the theory became necessary. To this reconstruction the name of the "Theory of supplements" has been given.

The theory of supplements assumed but one original Elohim document. This was worked over by the hand of the Jehovist through a process of supplements and interpolations to form the book of *Genesis* as we now have it. "Nay, not *Genesis* alone," says Tuch, "but the whole Hexateuch, excepting *Deuteronomy*, including legislation, has at its basis an historical composition, in which God is called ELOHIM." Of this the Jehovist made the freest use, changing it and adding to it to suit his purpose. It soon became evident, however, that the theory in this simple form led to endless inconsistencies. Hupfeld, therefore, divided the original Elohim document into two, and the Jehovist was no longer an editor but an original writer. Thus the Pentateuch was compiled from three original documents, two Elohist and one Jehovist. This last, and the first Elohist narrative, began with the creation. The second Elohist treated only of the Patriarchs. These three documents were combined in a continuous narrative by a still later editor, who hesitated not to take any liberties with the text that his design or mere caprice dictated.

The next step in the theory was to decide the date of these documents. Schrader affirmed the leading Elohim section to be the work of a priest of David's time. The second Elohist was from northern Israel, and wrote soon after the disruption of the kingdom (975-950 B. C.). The Jehovist was also a northern Israelite a century later. *Deuteronomy* sprang up two hundred years later. It is well to note the precision of these dates and their

order, as we shall find them flatly contradicted and turned about by subsequent critics.

Nöldeke says: "The authors of all the three principal documents lived during, or not long after, the time of David; but the first Elohists were the last to appear." *Deuteronomy* was written before the reforms of Josiah.

Delitzsch holds that the order of the documents was, Jehovist, second Elohists, *Deuteronomy*, first Elohists; but brings their dates down to the times of Isaiah and Ezekiel, and maintains that the Pentateuch continued to receive modifications until after the time of the Babylonian exile, though he regards it as still fundamentally Mosaic and the product of supernatural revelation.

The criticism had now reached a point at which, amid so much contradiction and uncertainty, it became evidently impossible to attribute the origin of the Pentateuch to a natural healthy and honest growth, at least if the prevalent principles of criticism were to be maintained. Rather than give up their theory, its more enthusiastic advocates began to call the historical portions of the Pentateuch a "gross fiction," "dreams of an impoverished people;" the laws, a "post-exilian precipitate;" *Deuteronomy*, "an invention of Josiah to help out a lagging reform."

The ablest and latest of these advocates is Julius Wellhausen, whose article on "Israel," in which his extravagant views are fully set forth, has been admitted into the new edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, now issuing from the press.

Though Wellhausen is generally more moderate and careful in his assertions about the trustworthiness of the history of the Pentateuch, and when it serves his purpose readily admits it, yet equally with others he unhesitatingly rejects whatever militates against his theory. Thus he says, "The story of *Exodus* ii. 1, *et seq.*, is a mythus of frequent occurrence elsewhere, to which no further significance is attached; for that Moses was 'trained in all the wisdom of the Egyptians' is vouched for by no earlier authorities than Philo and the New Testament. According to the Old Testament his con-

nection is with Jethro's priesthood or that of the Kenites."

Wellhausen is equally ready to impute dishonesty to the Biblical writers, when otherwise he finds it difficult to avoid the force of an objection. Thus when it is urged that the Persians are not named in *Genesis*, he does not hesitate to suggest that their name may have been "omitted to give an archaic air." That is, he imputes the possibility of conscious and intentional deception.

The theory of documents in its latest form is expressed in the formula, JE + D + HG + PC(Q) + R. This formula includes the book of *Joshua*, which together with the preceding five books constitutes a single work designated the Hexateuch. It suggests to the eye a mathematical demonstration, and has a very scientific appearance; and modern criticism, if it is not scientific, is nothing.

JE represents the combined Jehovist and Elohist, dating in the time of the early Kings and Prophets. Each of these documents passed through three editions before they were united. D signifies *Deuteronomy*, originating in the eighteenth year of King Josiah (B. C. 621). HG designates the "Law of Holiness" [*Leviticus* xvii-xxvi.], composed in the time of Ezekiel. Q stands for the "Book of the Four Covenants," embracing nearly half of the Hexateuch. PC is the symbol for the "Priest's Code," the name given to Q after receiving, from time to time, various additions up to its completion after the exile. R stands for Redactor, the person who reduced the whole to a consistent unity. The Hexateuch, thus constituted, was published by Ezra B. C. 444.

Again is to be noted the exact precision in the dates, though differing widely from those assigned by preceding critics, both in the order of the documents and in the intervals between. Our author justly calls attention to these serious discrepancies.

If it were simply a difference of view respecting the time when the various documents appeared, though the difference were a thou-

sand years, as in some cases it is, it would be, from the point of view of the criticism, serious without being strictly essential. But when one calls the Book of the Covenant, with all its striking characteristics, Elohistic, while others call it Jehovistic, it touches the vital question of the analysis at a vital point. It is, in fact, an axe laid at the root of the tree.

The time had come, in fact, when critics were waiting for another turn of the kaleidoscope. The old combination no longer satisfied them. The documents found no secure resting-places in the periods to which they had been assigned. It remains to be seen how long the present hypothesis, supported though it be by an external unanimity hitherto unknown, can resist the elements of antagonism and disruption that even in greater measure have been gathered up within it.

The author of the book under review is not content with merely showing the difficulties, inconsistencies, and absurdities of the theory of Wellhausen, but labors with much success in building up a firm structure upon the old foundations of a reverent reception of the Pentateuch as the word of God given by the hand of Moses.

The real turning-point in the whole controversy is the position and the origin of the book of *Deuteronomy*. Until within a very few years *Deuteronomy* was universally considered the latest book of the Pentateuch. Such a view has, however, been found to be entirely inconsistent with any scientific historical development of the religion of the Jews. It became necessary, therefore, to place this book at a date antecedent to the great bulk of the legal enactments, and also to the assumed historical events that introduced those enactments.

But while the later critics of the destructive school are tolerably unanimous in such a general statement, they no sooner descend to particulars than they contradict each other in every imaginable manner.

They are not agreed on the question whether *Deuteronomy* is a priestly or a prophetic document ; whether it was forged in the time of the early kings, or only found then ; whether it is essentially a unit in its history and laws, or the historical portions were framed about the laws by some exilian expert in literary appropriations and adaptations ; whether its laws, as now extant, came from one hand or have been considerably modified in their transmission ; whether some of the book is Mosaic by way of oral tradition, or none of it ; whether it claims to be from the lawgiver of the Exodus, or makes no such claim ; whether, if it be not what it purports to be, it is to be regarded as a gross offence against morality, or one to be readily condoned as

simply a legal fiction. . . . In such a state of things there is clearly, as yet, no logical obligation laid upon us to leave the old moorings. There is one thing to be dreaded even more than conservatism, and that is chaos.

In seeking to reestablish the authority and position of the book of *Deuteronomy* our author sets forth abundant and satisfactory grounds for maintaining, in the first place, "*the literary and material unity*" of that book, which current theories had come to regard as a piece of blockwork throughout.

There are a few appropriate introductory remarks, after which the greater part of the book of *Deuteronomy* is embraced in three successive discourses.

The first address [i. 6-iv. 43] reviews the salient points in the preceding history of forty years. It leads to the second section, and is logically connected with it. It ends with selecting the three trans-jordanic cities of refuge. It could have easily been delivered in half an hour.

The second address [iv. 44-xxvi.] is three times as long as the first. It is a recapitulation of the laws in the other books, with a few modifications and additions.

The third address [xxvii.-xxx.] constitutes a natural conclusion to the second, as the first had formed the introduction. In it the Divine covenant is set forth as a warning as well as a sure ground of hope, and as entailing a fearful responsibility.

In the conclusion [xxxi.] Moses speaks of his own approaching death, conveys his authority and responsibility to his successor in the office of leader of Israel, and delivers to the Priests a copy of what he calls "this law." Then follow the chapters [xxxii., xxxiii.] containing Moses' song and his blessing; and, "finally, the closing sections of the book [xxxiv.] by some other sympathetic hand, that tell how Moses died and was buried according to the word of the LORD, and how the people mourned for him, and what they thought of him, form a conclusion for the whole that is as fitting as it is moving and beautiful."

Deuteronomy is also "*a unit in its language and style.*"

The argument from language is to a great extent precarious. In dialects essentially distinct, as those of ancient Greece, or in the same dialect at successive periods of literary culture, as the old and the new Attic; or in the various species of literature, forensic, historic, philosophic; differences of language can be readily observed. A moderate acquaintance with Greek enables one to appreciate the distinction in language between Demosthenes, Thucydides, and Plato. Even in the case of writings of the same species of literature, when the tendency and character of the mental bias essentially vary, as in Plato and Aristotle, it would be impossible to mistake a chapter from one author for a chapter from the other.

Now there were a thousand years between that earliest portion of *Deuteronomy* which some allow to be the work of Moses, and the latest additions made by the hand of the Redactor after the Exile. During even the less interval between Josiah and Ezra, there occurred the destructive wars with the Babylonians and the long exile in a foreign land, whose language had exercised so much influence upon the spoken tongue of the Hebrews, that they required an interpreter to understand their own ancient Scriptures. Under such circumstances the difference of language and style ought to be so palpable as to be at once recognised by every respectable Hebrew scholar.

Numbers of the most eminent Hebraists maintain, however, that no such difference is to be observed in the book of *Deuteronomy*. Men who differ in almost every other point in the criticism of that book agree in this. Bleek declares: "This book in general offers unmistakably a greater unity of representation and of substance than the foregoing. This is true especially of the longer addresses, the didactic as well as the legislative portions. These parts are so much alike in language and all characteristic features that we may accept it as certain — and moreover there is scarcely any dispute about it — that these were, generally speaking, composed in the form in which they now lie before us by

one and the same writer. Dillman, Delitzsch, Kleinert, and others reëcho this sentiment in equally strong terms.

The author draws the conclusion that, "As well in the strikingly logical arrangement of its everywhere harmonious material, as in the confessed coloring of vocabulary and style, the work in its main features is a demonstrable unity."

In the second place, as regards the *authorship of the book of Deuteronomy*, the author of the book under review maintains that we may confidently believe that, whoever was the amanuensis, "Moses is responsible both for its substance and general form. It does not simply belong to his time, it actually originated with him." "It would surprise one unacquainted with the subject to know how large a portion of the book is put directly into the mouth of the Lawgiver. By actual enumeration of the verses it makes fifteen sixteenths of the whole matter."

In saying now, however, that we have the authority of *Deuteronomy*, that Moses composed and wrote *Deuteronomy*, we do not say, necessarily, that it teaches that it is actually his autograph; it may or may not be that. The Epistles ascribed to Paul are no less truly his, and were no less certainly written by him, because his own hand was not mechanically employed on many of them. It is simply meant that the book of *Deuteronomy* makes the claim that it is Mosaic in its present literary plan and structure; but *this is* meant. And it is more, and is clearly intended to be more, than saying that the book is substantially Mosaic, gets its authority, under God, from Moses. It means that it was written under his eye, and received his approval as correctly reporting his utterances which make up almost the whole of it.

This direct testimony of the book of *Deuteronomy* itself to its own authorship can be got rid of only by asserting that the book was cast in this form simply for effect; that the late writer intended, by his reiterated statements, to palm it off on his contemporaries as a veritable work of Moses, in order that it might possess greater authority and exert a greater influence. In other words, the whole book is a palpable fraud.

Such a charge is self-stultifying. Whoever wrote the book, whether Moses or some later scribe, we must have

in it a true reflection of the mind of the author. The book of *Deuteronomy* could not have been written by a deliberate deceiver, even though he had a laudable object in view. It is too earnest and zealous in the maintenance of the strictest integrity, it shows too plainly on every page the perfect sincerity of the writer, and the deeply settled conviction of the sin of swerving in the least from the straight path of right, to be the work of a cheat, or even of one whose mind was debased enough to act upon the principle of doing evil that good might result.

This charge cannot be at all softened by classing it with poetic license and honest religious fictions. These claim no more than to teach real truth under the guise of acknowledged imaginary facts; whereas the book of *Deuteronomy*, if a fraud, was intended to bolster up an oppressive ritual observance, and to enure to the personal profit and honor of the Aaronic Priesthood. Moreover, its imaginary facts, its suppositious records of ancient laws, its earnest appeals as if from the mouth of Moses, are none of them set forth as fiction, but in sober earnestness, as being exactly what they profess to be, and were so received during the whole period of Jewish history.

But it is alleged that there are various statements scattered throughout the book, anachronisms, contradictions, and ethnographical remarks, and finally the account of Moses' death and burial that could not have been the work of Moses. It is unnecessary to enumerate such passages, though our author notes them separately. They are familiar to all, and have formed the staple arguments of rationalists and infidels from the time of Celsus in the second century to the present day. We give but the summary and conclusion of our author.

This supplementary matter, it is to be carefully noticed, insignificant as it is in amount, — making up, if we omit the concluding sections, but two per cent. of the whole, — is far from being of one character. The most of it is in the form of introductory statements or historical reminiscences, quite pertinent to the context, and differing from it only in the one circumstance that it is expressed in the third person instead of the first. If it did not originate with Moses, there is no

intimation or proof that it did not. . . . Inherent improbability arising from their contents and form there is not. But when these parts are subtracted from the one sixteenth of the book not included in addresses positively ascribed to Moses, the residuum is scarcely worth disputing about.

It may be acknowledged, without yielding one iota as it concerns the main point at issue, that our book has some scraps of supplementary material. Here and there a remark is thrown in, possibly editorial, or of the nature of what might have originally been a gloss, which because there was no other place to put it has found its way into the text.

A third line of argument in support of the early date of the book of *Deuteronomy* is derived from the consideration of the many striking events, domestic and foreign, that modified in various ways both the civil government and the religious worship, to which there could hardly have failed to be some allusion in *Deuteronomy*, had it been written, or even remodelled, as late as the time of Josiah. The Israelites had been alternately oppressed by, and triumphant over, the Canaanites. The kingdom had been rent. Mighty wars with Assyria had been waged, signalised by wondrous providential deliverance at the hand of God. Samaria had been reduced, and its king and people led away into exile.

What vestige of all this do we find in *Deuteronomy*? What one word of Assyria and its influence to affect the nearly forty references to the Egypt of Joseph and Moses and the Exodus? Judging from the confidence with which our book is assigned to this or that era of reform among the kings of the Assyrian period, one might reasonably expect some definite evidence that it knew of these mighty monarchs and their overwhelming influence on the people of Palestine and adjacent lands — that the Assyria of the prophets and the historical books really came into its field of vision. There is no such evidence.

In concluding his argument for the genuineness and unity of *Deuteronomy*, the author calls attention to the moral elevation of the whole book as utterly precluding the idea of chicanery or even a conscious aiming at literary effect.

This is no romance. We recognise the force of resistless truth. It is charged with a spirit before which we unhesitatingly bow. Every mountain altitude has its peculiar flora and fauna. It would be vain to seek to convince a botanist that certain plants were found

flourishing on the summit of Mt. Washington. Ocular proof would not be needful to convince him of the contrary. The impossibility would be in the nature of things. And there are spiritual elevations to which finesse and falsity are of necessity strangers. The plane upon which the whole book of *Deuteronomy* moves is one of these moral uplands. It begins with the sublimities of Sinai and ends with the inimitable solemnities of Nebo and Pisgah. It is no effort at historiography, interjected with pious expressions, as some critics represent the later Biblical narratives to be. It is in web and woof sacred history, narrated, as it was enacted, under the eye of God.

The author, beside developing the general arguments in support of the authenticity of *Deuteronomy* and of the Mosaic authorship of this book, and with it the early date of the whole Pentateuch, examines in detail the various laws as we find them in the Pentateuch. He divides these laws into three classes, "The Laws peculiar to *Deuteronomy*," "The Laws repeated and modified in *Deuteronomy*," and "The Laws peculiar to the Priest's Code."

"The Laws peculiar to *Deuteronomy*" he shows to be such as were suitable to a people in the wilderness, or were naturally anticipative of the circumstances under which they expected to settle in the land of Canaan.

Of these laws, that which has reference to the appointment of a king has been most debated, and thought by many to point to a late period in the Jewish history. It presents, indeed, some features which seem to refer specifically to the lives and characters of the evil kings that oppressed the Israelites; but these, after all, are of a general nature, such as one who had knowledge of the Egyptian and Canaanite kings would hardly have failed to anticipate.

There are other features, however, that are absolutely inconsistent with a late origin of this enactment. How could the injunction, "Thou mayest not set a stranger over thee, which is not thy brother," have been given, when the succession had already for centuries been firmly established in the family of David? Again, the king is forbidden to "cause the people to return to Egypt to the end that they should multiply horses." Such a return had not been thought of since the first

crossing of Jordan, although a familiar subject in the mouths of the people in Moses' time.

It is objected that Samuel, when the people asked for a king, made no reference to this law, and the inference is drawn that it did not then exist. But why should Samuel have referred to it, when his whole object was to prevent, if possible, the appointment of a king? The law of God did not ordain such an appointment, but merely allowed it, and restricted the choice when the people should demand it. Samuel, in accordance with the implied will of God, sought to put off the evil day. The people, however, of Samuel's time, evidently knew of the law and took advantage of it in their appeal. They use almost the identical words of *Deuteronomy*: "I will set a king over me like all the nations which are around about me" [*Deuteronomy* xvii. 14], "Set a king for us to judge us, like all the nations" [*1 Samuel* viii. 5]. It has been noticed that the whole context of this historical passage is saturated with Deuteronomic expressions and ideas.

The detailed examination of other laws of *Deuteronomy* fully sustains the very modest conclusion which the author draws:—

Such are a few of the more patent internal characteristics by which its age, as a whole, and in its several parts, might be approximately inferred. That they are demonstrative need not be held; that, however, they show an overwhelming weight of probability in favor of Mosaic origin throughout, cannot well be denied. Such an origin, in fact, is directly or implicitly claimed by the great majority of the statutes brought under review, and especially by those of chief importance. If it be denied in the case of the rest, is it too much to demand that adequate reasons be given for wrenching them from the ancient mould in which we find them imbedded?

The laws which occur in both *Deuteronomy* and the so-called "Priest's Code" vary more or less in detail. So far from these variations sustaining the later date of *Deuteronomy*, the reverse is true.

In the enactments concerning unclean animals, the law of *Leviticus* [xi. 1-43], as regards quadrupeds, is general. That which does not chew the cud and divide the hoof is prohibited. To insure the proper under-

ding of the law, three prohibited animals are specified. They are such as might be met in the wilderness had been known in Egypt. The so-called coney is much more common in the Sinaitic peninsula than in

Holy Land. The hare was also found in the wilderness of Arabia, and the Arabs at the present day, by mission of their prophet, use it for food, while the one was well known in Egypt, though not eaten except when sacrificed at the yearly festivals of certain places. Perhaps swine's flesh was forbidden as much

in connection with idolatrous worship, as for its unwholesomeness and for the filthy habits of the animal. Animals that might be eaten are not enumerated in *Leviticus*, for they would hardly be encountered, in a wild state, before the Israelites approached the Land of Canaan. In *Deuteronomy* [xiv. 4-8], however, the clean animals are specifically named, and the prohibition of

the coney, the hare, and swine repeated, for these animals are found also in Palestine. The inference is that

the Levitical code was written when entering the wilderness, *Deuteronomy* when leaving it.

When we look at the law in reference to unclean reptiles and insects we find the reverse; *Leviticus* is more specific, *Deuteronomy* more general. In the wilderness there was greater temptation to make use of reptiles and winged insects as food. *Leviticus*, therefore, prohibits by name eight species of reptiles, and allows the eating of certain varieties of locust. *Deuteronomy* makes no allusion to reptiles, and of insects simply says, "Every creeping thing that flieth is unclean unto you; ye shall not eat of it."

The specification in *Leviticus* was needed in the wilderness, but useless afterwards. The previous inference as to the relative dates of *Deuteronomy* and *Leviticus* is thus confirmed.

The other laws repeated in *Deuteronomy*, when they differ from the Levitical code, if they have any bearing on their respective dates, in like manner tend to establish the later appearance of *Deuteronomy*. This fact was universally recognised by the ablest Hebrew and Biblical scholars, until the exigencies of the new theory, of the

natural historical development of the Jewish religion, were supposed to require the contrary.

There is a third class of laws, peculiar to the so-called "Priest's Code." It must be remembered that this Code is asserted to be the product, at least in its completed form, of the post-exilian age. It contains numerous specific directions for ritual observances, as regards the purification of the people by sacrifices and other ceremonial observances, the daily worship in the Tabernacle, and the office and dress of the Priesthood.

Take the law which enjoins that portion of the High Priest's dress called "Urim and Thummim." It is impossible for us to say with certainty what these ornaments were. The manner of the introduction of these terms is, however, significant. They are left totally unexplained. The writer seems to take for granted that those for whom he wrote knew all about them. If this were a pure invention of the time of Ezra, the people who had never seen or heard of Urim and Thummim would have failed utterly to comprehend their significance. The history of this regulation concerning the High Priest's dress militates strongly against the theory of a development of Jewish law and ritual.

So far from finding a development in the matter from the Mosaic period downward, we find the opposite. Abiathar of David's time is the last of whom is said that he made use of the Urim and Thummim. We discover Eleazar, Aaron's successor, wearing it as a fitting part of his high-priestly furnishing. We find it mentioned, as one of the distinguishing honors of the tribe of Levi, by Moses in his blessing. But the history subsequent to Solomon's day is wholly silent respecting it. And still more noticeably, that of the Exile furnishes positive evidence that it has ceased to exist.

The author takes up in detail the various laws (twenty-two in all) peculiar to the "Priest's Code," and brings out many points of which he affirms: "These are unintentional corroborations of the Mosaic origin of the code; or they are an intentional shaping and coloring of it, for purposes of deception."

If these laws were the product of Ezra's age, not only he was concerned in setting forth a fraud; but Nehemiah, the civil governor, more than a dozen Priests men-

tioned by name, and many prominent Levites were privy to it.

If it be masquerading in the name and character of Moses, it is clear that all the principal representatives of Israel are implicated in it. It is no usurpation by any single man or class ; it is a conspiracy on a gigantic scale. But to suppose that these men could thus have duped their contemporaries into the acceptance of laws as Mosaic which were not so ; to suppose that had they perpetrated such a fraud, there would not be the slightest trace of it in the history or traditions of the period ; to suppose, in view of the great moral purpose obviously lying at the basis of this as of all other portions of the Pentateuch, that any of these persons, or any one associated with them, would wish so to impose upon the credulity of his generation, are all and severally impossible suppositions ; and any theory that bases its support upon them is unworthy the confidence of Christian men.

Another very important test for the relative dates of documents consists in allusions which later writings make to earlier. Our author takes up and applies this test in three separate papers : "The Law and the Prophets ;" "The Law and the Historical Books ;" "The Law and the Psalms."

First he discusses the question as to the relative order of the Law and the Prophets ; whether it should be that hitherto received, or be changed, to suit the theory of Wellhausen, to the Prophets and the Law. To sustain the latter position, Wellhausen and his school assert (1.) "that the Prophets before the Exile are absolutely silent respecting the Levitical Code and the history that belongs to it, and (2.) that they show a decided hostility to animal sacrifices, a circumstance bearing still more directly against its supposed existence."

The first argument, if true, being negative, would be of little if any force. The Decalogue at least is acknowledged to have antedated the Prophets ; and yet when denouncing idolatry the Prophets never appeal directly to the first or second commandment. So far, however, from the pre-exilian Prophets being silent respecting the Levitical code, they show from first to last that it has made upon them a most powerful impression.

Amos, who prophesied near the beginning of the VIII. century B. C., declares in irony : "Bring your sac-

rifices *every morning* and your *tithes* after three years (or days), and *offer (by burning)* a sacrifice with *leaven* and publish the *free offerings*." "I hate, I despise your feast days; *I will not smell* in your solemn assemblies. Though ye offer me burnt offerings and your meat offerings, I will not accept them; neither will I regard the peace offerings of your fat beasts." What could be a more direct allusion, in a large degree verbal, to the law in *Leviticus* [vi. 12, xxvii. 30, ii. 11]: "The priest shall burn wood on it *every morning*, and lay the burnt offering in order upon it;" "All the *tithe* of your land, whether of the seed of the land, or of the fruit of the tree, is the LORD'S;" "No meat offering which ye shall bring unto the LORD shall be made *with leaven*: for ye shall *burn no leaven*, nor any honey, in any offering of the LORD made by fire;" and in *Exodus* [xxxvi. 3] assigned by Wellhausen to the "Priest's Code:" "They brought yet unto him *free offerings every morning*:" and in *Leviticus* [xxvi. 31]: "*I will not smell* the savor of your sweet odors."

Equally plain are the references in Amos to historical events connected with the enacting and the observance or neglect of the laws contained in the "Priest's Code." Thus *Amos* [ii. 9, 10, 11]: "Yet destroyed I the Amorite before them, whose height was like the height of the cedars." "Also I brought you up from the land of Egypt, and led you forty years through the wilderness, to possess the land of the Amorites. And I raised up of your sons for prophets, and of your young men for Nazarites." *Amos* [v. 25, 26]: "Have ye offered unto me sacrifices and offerings in the wilderness forty years, O house of Israel? But ye have borne the tabernacle of your Moloch." Compare with these *Numbers* [xiii. 29, 32, 33]: "The Amorites dwell in the mountains." "All the people that we saw in it are men of a great stature." "And we were in our own sight as grasshoppers, and so we were in their sight." *Numbers* [xiv. 34]: "After the number of the days in which ye searched the land, even forty days (each day for a year) shall ye bear your iniquities, even forty years." The Law of the Nazarites is found only in *Leviticus* [vi.], and the only mention of

Moloch in connection with the sojourn in the wilderness is found in *Leviticus* xviii. 21, and xx. 2.

The second statement, that the pre-exilian Prophets show a decided hostility to animal sacrifices, is equally fallacious. This assertion is based upon those many passages that denounce the Israelites for depending for God's favor upon the merely outward ceremony of slaughtered beasts. The context, however, shows that the prophet is indulging in strong hyperbole that he may gain the attention and touch the hearts of his hearers. Thus Jeremiah declares [vi. 20]: "Your burnt offerings are not acceptable, nor your sacrifices sweet;" but he also prophesies [xxxiii. 17, 18]: "David shall never want a man to sit upon the throne of the house of Israel; neither shall the priests the Levites want a man before me to offer burnt offerings, and to kindle meat offerings, and to do sacrifice continually."

The denunciations of the Prophets are not, however, confined to the offering of animal sacrifices, but poured forth against all religious unreality, as in *Isaiah* [i. 12-14]. After adducing many similar passages from various Prophets to exhibit the true ground of their denunciations, and that they saw and upheld the spiritual side of the Mosaic laws and institutions, the author concludes: "Tested by the reasoning on which its supporters themselves most rely, this concerted effort to face about the pre-exilian Prophets and reconstruct on other principles the history of Israel is a signal failure."

The historical books, as well as the prophetic, are full of references to the ceremonial law of the Priest's Code.

It is generally recognised that the books of *Chronicles* were written with a view to "illustrate the ceremonial law," and exhibit a plain purpose to emphasise and honor it. If they were allowed to be authentic, it would be impossible to assign the "Priest's Code" to post-exilian days. How is this witness to be got rid of? Nothing is easier. The partisans of Graf and Wellhausen declare that "the purpose, evidently stamped upon these books, is inconsistent with a truthful narrative, and that history so far as it is colored and controlled by

any purpose is a pure fabrication ; ” and then they dismiss the books with “ a contemptuous depreciation and ridicule of the Chronicler. ” The author justly argues : —

To say that an historian cannot have a special point of view and yet confine himself to facts is surely absurd. To write history with a purely didactic purpose, singling out events and characters best subserving that purpose, is as legitimate an aim as any other. . . . That the chronicler, in view of the lack of prominence given to the ceremonial law in other histories of Israel, current then and since, should deliberately set out with the object of supplementing them in this respect, is not only extremely natural, but it is highly creditable to his judgment.

It is not, however, necessary to insist upon the evidence of these books, though written especially for presenting this evidence. The remaining historical books afford many tokens of the existence of the ceremonial law for a period long before the Exile. The books of *Judges*, *Samuel*, and *Kings* are closely connected histories, “ conceived and constructed as one whole, ” having throughout a clear object and unity of purpose.

Israel appears everywhere as the one chosen people sustaining peculiar relations to Jehovah and owing Him peculiar duties. There is a solidarity of interests and responsibility. A common and universal obligation is recognised. A silent appeal is taken to an assumed standard. Each new character as he appears is faithfully judged by it, and finds his place accordingly among the noble or the ignoble of the historic line.

The whole series of the historical books are a constant protest against the forsaking of the Law and the breaking of the covenant made with Moses. “ They forsook the LORD GOD of their fathers, which brought them out of the land of Egypt, and followed other gods. ” “ The anger of the LORD was hot against Israel ; and He said, Because that this people hath transgressed my covenant which I commanded their fathers ” [*Judges* ii. 12, 20]. In the books of Samuel the prophet, Gad and the priests Ahimelech and Abiathar make no unimportant figure. In connection with them we have notice of much of the ritual of the Law. These books also contain direct testimony to the real existence of the Tabernacle before the time of Solomon ; that it was not

a shadowy projection backward of the temple of Solomon, which some post-exilian imagination conceived. In the books of *Kings* the same protest against forsaking God and breaking His covenant is continued in the record of king after king.

How is such testimony met? In the same old short and easy method, by the unsupported charge of pious fraud, and deliberate falsehood to sustain the authority of a theocracy which had no existence until the later kings.

Even the necessary sins, it is claimed, have been artfully provided to meet the exigencies of an artfully-concocted religious narrative. Of the account of the repentance of Israel at Mizpeh, in response to the appeals of Samuel, where they are said to have put away Baalim and Astaroth to serve the Lord only, Wellhausen declares that there is not a "true word in it." It was fabricated with a motive, and that motive was to idealize Samuel.

Actual theocracy there was none: it had been introduced bodily into the history by revision. Grace and guilt are there made to play their part in the course of events like mechanical forces. Its supernaturalism is simple pedantry; its characters and admonitions are holy or otherwise, "according to receipt." Nothing of the kind we may be sure existed in the original narrative. In that Israel appeared just like any other ancient people.

But what becomes of any history, if the records are mutilated at will, and the whole rewritten in accordance, not with newly-discovered testimony, but with one's own inward consciousness of what ought to have existed in the original documents?

Beside general allusions to the existence of a law and covenant, there are numerous specific enactments which find illustrations in the historical books. David was offered the shew bread by Ahimelech the Priest. The only Nazarites for life named in the Old Testament are Samuel and Samson. The law in regard to both these observances and all allusion to them before the historical books are contained exclusively in those parts of the Pentateuch which Wellhausen assigns to the Priest's Code. Ceremonial impurity is considered by Saul a sufficient reason for absence from religious festivities. Many other examples are adduced by our author to sustain his position, that all the historical books "offer suf-

ficient evidence that they were antedated by all the Pentateuch codes in all their essential features."

The author in the last of his papers discusses the relation of "The Law and the Psalms."

The first point to settle is the date and authorship of the book of *Psalms*. The author maintains that we have "direct evidence of its virtual completion previous to the close of the Persian period, that is B. C. 333."

The possibility, however, of fugitive Maccabæan psalms need not be disputed, extremely doubtful though they be. A Maccabæan Psalter is simply an absurdity to smile at. . . .

But if the book of *Psalms* was completed not long after the return of the exulants from Babylon, it was even more certainly begun not later than King David, and the bulk of it written within two hundred years of his reign. Its core, and what still forms the characteristic and greater portion of it, seems to have formed, in fact, the standard book of praise in the Temple of Solomon.

In the *Psalms* generally acknowledged by critics to be from the pen of David, and which must at least be assigned to the period before the Exile, there are many verbal correspondences to passages in the Pentateuch. The phrase, "God will whet his sword," occurs only in *Psalm* vii. 13 and *Deuteronomy* xxxii. 41. The epithet "Rock" is applied to God in *Psalm* xviii. 3 and *Deuteronomy* xxxii. 4. The first and second verses of *Psalm* xxxv. is but an enlargement of *Exodus* xv. 3, "Jehovah is a man of war."

It would be easy also to enumerate many facts of the Pentateuchal history, related only in the portions assigned to the "Priest's Code," which are woven into the texture of various *Psalms*.

Above all, "The Law proper, the great body of legislation to be found in the Pentateuch, still more emphatically than the history, has left its impression on the minds of Israel's earliest song-writers." Prominent among the *Psalms* which contain such allusions may be named the fifty-first and the fortieth.

Purify me with hyssop, and I shall be clean:
Wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow.

In offerings made by fire Thou hast had no pleasure.

.

Sacrifice and oblation Thou desirest not.

Burnt offering and offering for sin Thou dost not require.

To do Thy will, O my God! is my delight,
And Thy law is written in my innermost heart.

The book of *Psalms* is full of such testimony to the **stence** of the ceremonial law in all its fulness.

To expurgate the Psalter of all testimony hostile to the Wellhausen **xy** of Israelitish history, or out of harmony with it, would be to **rage** the Psalter, or at least its acknowledged earlier portions.

To the objection that the Psalms represent a state of **igious** perception altogether above the level of the **as** of the people of Israel in the times of the kings, it is **lied** that this may be, and probably is, true; for indi- **nals** always, in religious devotion, as in devotion to **ence** or any other pursuit, stand above the mass.

till the question remains, How came it that individuals, that any- **y** reached a pitch of development so amazing in times so early, **, as** is alleged, so crude and immature? No hypothesis of a later **gious** "coloring" given to documents ancient in themselves, such **a** made to account for many supposed anomalies in the historical **is**, will avail here. Nay, the very abundance of religious teaching **is** one of the strongest proofs that that of the historical books is **coloring** at all, but only the natural texture of the fabric.

We can comprehend how such an Israelitish singer as we have been **sing** to, in some important respects so far beyond Moses and his **is**, was the crown of a certain development, but as its virtual be- **ing** he seems to us an impossible character. . . . If you reverse **pyramid**, putting the apex where the base should be, the Psalmist **show** in the place of the Patriarch, and admit no regulative norm **holy** living and aspiration such as the so-called Mosaic institutions **x**, the matter becomes simply inexplicable to us.

In taking our leave of the author, we desire to express **r** satisfaction with the fulness and cogency of his **gments**. The fact that several of the papers appeared **perately** at various intervals has occasioned a little **petition**; but the supplementary papers have welded **em** all into one consistent and logical whole. We **ve** in this book a clear exposition of the necessary re- **lt** of the denial of the Mosaic authorship of the Penta- **ch**, that it leads to endless contradictions and absurdi- **a**, which compel a perpetual alternate readjustment of **e** critical theory and the existing documents.

WM. W. OLSEN.

MARRIAGE WITH A DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CHURCH REVIEW.

SIR: The appearance in the CHURCH REVIEW of Professor Wainwright's article upon Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister has given rise to much grief and surprise among those who desire to see the tie of amity between the two Churches drawn closer.

If the learned Professor had contented himself with an argument upon the question on its merits I would have no special ground for asking permission to present in your pages what I conceive to be a juster view of the matter. He ventures, however, upon statements as to English opinion which are so evidently derived from a tainted source that I make bold to ask leave to lay before your readers the grounds upon which the Church of England desires to maintain the existing law of prohibition, and the authority by which that law is supported.

The teaching of the Church of England upon Marriage is to be found in the Book of Common Prayer, and is based on the primeval law published in Eden in the time of man's innocency, re-published by our LORD JESUS CHRIST, and enforced by S. Paul, viz. : that "a man shall leave his father and mother and cleave unto his wife: and they shall be one flesh."

Marriage is, therefore, a uniting of two bloods so that by the Divine Word and power two are made "one flesh." Their previously separate existence is ended and lost in their new existence. This is the law of marriage: and though Moses because of the hardness of man's heart suffered an infringement of this law, at which in the times of ignorance God winked, yet the authoritative teaching of the Bible is everywhere in consonance with this

august and primeval law. I may observe, in passing, that one advocate of the change permitted himself in the House of Lords to sneer at the doctrine of the twain being one flesh as a fantastic notion. Such persons I do not hope to convince.

In *Leviticus* are many detailed injunctions concerning marriage and forbidden degrees, but no one will seriously contend that the expressed injunctions contain the complete code, or do more than illustrate the manner in which the primeval law is to be applied in practice: nor can it be said that the Levitical law is binding only upon Jews, for the infringement of the laws here promulgated is expressly articulated against the Egyptians and Canaanites. The Levitical prohibitions plainly deal with many relationships of affinity, *i. e.* the brother's wife [xviii. 16], the wife's son's daughter [xviii. 17], and the father's brother's wife [xviii. 18]. It is clear, therefore, that some marriages between relations allied by marriage only are contrary to God's law as much as some marriages between relations allied by blood. On the other hand, there is no express prohibition of marriage between a man and his grandmother, although a man is forbidden to marry his mother [xviii. 7], and his wife's daughter [xviii. 17]. It is therefore clear that the express illustrations given in *Leviticus* are not complete in themselves, but are intended to be supplemented in respect of the degrees corresponding to those expressly denounced. This has been done in the table of prohibited degrees, which, set forth in a logical form by Archbishop Parker in 1563, did no more than give clear and precise expression to what had been the law of England ever since we received the gospel of CHRIST as the guide of our national life. I may remark that the Westminster Confession endorses the teaching of the English Church in this respect.

I do not desire to embark on a discussion as to the exact meaning of *Leviticus* xviii. 18. It is enough for me to observe that those who desire these marriages find their sole Scriptural justification in a rendering of this text which has been sufficiently disposed of in recent

times by Dr. Pusey at Oxford, and Dr. Candlish of the Free Church of Scotland. This interpretation is at variance with the whole tenor of express teaching upon the same subject. The present advocates of these marriages in England have now made a startling advance, and contend that all obligations of affinity are dissolved by death. They allege that Herodias was the wife and not the widow of Philip, Herod's brother. They assert that the sin for which S. John Baptist reproved Herod was not incest but adultery. I desire to point out the consequence of this novel opinion. If it were true it would clearly follow that there is no such sin as incest in the case of relationship by affinity, and the distinct prohibitions of *Leviticus* xviii. 6-17 are made of no effect, being only amplifications of the commandment against coveting a neighbor's wife. Test this by the prohibition as to a wife's son's daughter [*Leviticus* xviii. 17], and the hollowness of the argument is apparent. Assuming, which I do not admit, that *Leviticus* xviii. 18, is doubtful, it is surely wiser to err on the side of strictness with Moses, S. John Baptist, and S. Paul, than to fritter away the Word of God by theories so extravagant and new.

The truth of the English agitation of the question is that Mr. Henry Sykes Thornton some forty years ago contracted an alliance of this kind. He was a banker of great wealth, which he lavished in promoting a fictitious semblance of public opinion in favor of a change in the law. Popular prejudice was invoked. Dissenters of no great learning were persuaded that the whole law of the subject was to be found in the English translation of *Leviticus* xviii. 18. Amiable people were induced to think that the change would be to the interest of the poorer classes. Newspapers were heavily bribed by copious advertisements. An astute secretary (now dead), who had himself broken the law, was employed by Mr. Thornton to carry on the campaign of artifice, and it was stated in the newspapers at the time of Mr. Thornton's death that £250,000 had been spent in furtherance of this object.

What is every one's business is nobody's business. Although Bishops in their charges, Diocesan Conferences in solemn resolutions adopted in every Diocese, and various writers from time to time disproved the allegations of Mr. Thornton's irresponsible society, the indefatigable secretary (since succeeded by another gentleman of equal perseverance) continued his career of persistent mystification. Parochial clergymen and district visitors of devotion and experience shewed that such alliances were less frequent among the poor than invasions of the law of incest between blood relations, and that the change would be unwelcome. Some advocates of the change, who had hastily given their adhesion, such as Dr. Hook and the late Archbishop Tait, retracted it; and the House of Lords, giving heed to the almost unanimous opinion of Churchmen, clerical and lay, rejected the bill repeatedly, as did the House of Commons on many occasions. The wealthy organisation, with its lavish expenditure, could not fail of producing some effect, and in an unhappy moment the Prince of Wales was induced to advocate the change.

The German relations of the royal family of England would lead them to look with indulgence in such matters; but the action of the Prince of Wales has provoked an inquiry into foreign laws of marriage and their consequences, with the result which Professor Wainwright describes as disingenuous. It has been found that wherever this particular infraction of the primeval law of Christian marriage has been permitted, great laxity as to other degrees, both of affinity and kindred, prevails, and divorces swell in numbers. I admit, however, that in those Australian colonies, where the law has been but recently altered, the *virus* has not yet had time to develop its baneful influence.

It is impossible to invade, in one particular, the sanctity of marriage and the doctrine of the twain being one flesh without serious injury to the rest of the law. Frequent divorce, toleration of unions between relations near in blood, such as uncles and nieces, have invariably in due time followed permission to marry a wife's sister,

and the laws of some American States (notably those of New York) present illustrations of this truth.

In order to justify this change in the law, perverted statements as to Lord Lyndhurst's Act of 1835 are unsparingly made, though they have been refuted over and over again. It is asserted that by the Act of 1835 a marriage of a man with his wife's sister celebrated before that date was made clean and legitimate, while all after that date were to be held incestuous and void. What are the facts? By the law of England, as declared by the House of Lords in its judicial capacity in 1859, such marriages were always void *ab initio*, but as they could be judicially noticed by the ecclesiastical courts only, and during the lifetime of one of the parties, such a marriage escaping ecclesiastical sentence was presumed to be good because not challenged. In this respect it was in precisely the same category as the union of a man with his own sister by blood.

Lord Lyndhurst's Act provided that the temporal courts should thenceforward have original jurisdiction and cognisance of illegal marriages, and that previous judicial sentence in the ecclesiastical courts should not be required to procure a legal sentence in all marriages celebrated after the passing of the Act. The Act further provided that where proceedings had not been instituted at the time of the passing of the Act, no further proceedings to set the marriage aside should be taken. No sanction was given to these marriages at all, and it has been held that persons who had so offended against the laws ecclesiastical might have been punished *pro salute animæ*, although proceedings to declare the invalidity of the marriage were by the act restrained. These provisions, be it observed, applied alike to all marriages within the forbidden degrees of affinity, to marriages with a wife's mother, wife's daughter, wife's sister, wife's niece, brother's wife, and the like. It will thus be seen that Lord Lyndhurst's Act proceeded with great caution and in a difficult case, viz.: marriages unquestioned in an ecclesiastical court at the time of the passing of the Act, erred on the side of indulgence in restraining new suits against unions of all these kinds previously contracted.

The Professor talks airily of the best minds in England giving their support to the change. The statement is absurd. Some public men, under pressure from some constituents, have been persuaded to vote for the change, but that the best minds who have applied themselves to the subject have arrived at a favorable conclusion I take leave to deny. If a public man, while defending the existing law, has been rash enough to express a doubt as to the exact meaning of *Leviticus* xviii., or its binding effect at the present time, he is at once paraded as in favor of change, although upon other grounds he is hostile to the alteration. The few Bishops who have given their assent to the proposals are not men distinguished for theological learning or pastoral experience. Archbishops Whately and Musgrave, the late Bishop of Ripon, and the present Bishop of Worcester, are not authorities sufficient to outweigh the overwhelming consensus of the Anglican Episcopate, supported by their Diocesan Synods and Conferences. To omit the names of living Prelates, I may cite Bishops Blomfield, Thirlwall, Wordsworth, Wilberforce, and Phillpott as having given weighty and eloquent utterance in Parliament and Convocation against the proposed change. Of laymen, the late Earl Cairns, Lord Campbell, Lord Cranworth, Lord O'Hagan, Lord Hatherley, Lord Brougham, to say nothing of the present Lord Coleridge, have all resisted in Parliament this fatal alteration.

It is worth while to observe that apart from the religious and ecclesiastical aspect of the question, the calm judgment of men who look merely from a social point of view is deserving of consideration. The framers of the Code Napoleon discussed this subject at length. They decided, after full debate and in the presence of Napoleon, to forbid marriages between brothers and sisters-in-law as injurious to morality and contrary to the public good.

Whether the relaxation established under Louis Philippe has tended to promote the morality and happiness of France, I will not now stop to inquire.

If we look to reason, authority, and experience, we

shall find it impossible to defend an illogical law. But a law permitting marriage with a wife's sister and leaving forbidden other marriages of affinity, is eminently illogical, and the late Lord Russell spoke with a sound instinct when he said that if this one alteration were permitted, all prohibitions of affinity must be swept away. When this is done short work is made of the law of consanguinity, and the utmost laxity of divorce completes the ruin of social morality.

I may mention, as an instance of the Professor's imperfect information, his assertion that the Bishop of London is in favor of the bill. No Bishop of London has ever voted for the bill, or expressed himself in favor of the measure. Dr. Blomfield, Dr. Jackson, and Dr. Temple have all spoken against it, while Archbishop Tait, who in early life signed a petition to change, never gave a vote in its favor, for on reaching the Bishop's Bench he began to perceive the fatal consequences which would flow from the innovation.

I have to ask your indulgence and that of your readers for the length to which this communication has run, but if I have succeeded in explaining the inaccurate view of sober English opinion which Professor Wainwright has been persuaded to put forward, I shall not regret the task I have undertaken. The poet has said:—

How small of all that human hearts endure
The part that kings or laws can make or cure,

but this is not true of the law of marriage. I need not quote the familiar verses of Horace. Statistics show the fatal results of tampering with the law of marriage, and I earnestly hope the day is not far distant when restrictions may be imposed upon the unhappy laxity which largely obtains among Anglo-Saxon speaking nations, and that the primeval law of marriage may be again honored as of yore.

I remain your obedient servant,

BEAUCHAMP.

13 BELGRAVE SQUARE, LONDON, W.,

February 15, 1886.

THE EXPLORATIONS AT ZOAN.

Tanis. Part I. 1883-4. Second Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund. With nineteen plates and plans. By W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE. Published by Order of the Committee. London, 1885.

THE archæological appetite, whetted by M. Naville's *The Store City of Pithom*,* is now hungrier than ever. The feasts at Zoan to come — particularly the anticipated unique courses, strata — make it hard to patiently partake of the solid repast in *Tanis I.* A most substantial archæological repast it is! The Biblical rather than the classical name heads this article, although we shall sometimes use its Arabic baptismal name of Sân. For "the excavations at Zoan" are popularly named as such; and to our mind inscriptive Biblical elucidation from the city and "the field of Zoan" takes precedence, historically and pathetically, of the Ptolemaic or even the pre-Hyksos periods of Egypt. But, while recognising this, Mr. Petrie, with a comprehensive yet precise scientific method, allows nothing of any value to escape his critical eye. His contemporaneous labors at Naucratis strikingly attest this. He is showing at Sân what Mariette should have done, when, more than twenty years ago, he excavated some and rummaged more in order to enrich the museum at Boulak. Mariette never surveyed, did no systematic work, and gave the matter in charge, for the most part, of native *reises*. Some of the valuable statues, shrines, sphinxes, etc., laid bare were left to be eaten away by

* Reviewed in the July NUMBER. The other announced publications in preparation are: III. *Naucratis*, 1884-5. By W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE. With about forty plates and plans. IV. *Goshen*, 1884-5. By EDOUARD NAVILLE. V. *Tanis*. Part II. By W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE. With Translations of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in Part I.

the salt miasma of Lake Menzaleh, worn by the winter rains, broken and removed by any Arab for house, fence, or millstone. But archæological *tempora mutantur*; the brilliant Mariette would now catch the scientific procedure; the "Progress of archæological research," so graphically sketched by the Rev. Scott B. Rathbun in the January CHURCH REVIEW, includes thoroughness as a paramount requisite to valuable results.

Mr. Petrie has taken all the levels and measurements of "the sand island" on which Zoan was built, of the great temple, and of every separate monument. He has turned, cleaned, measured, copied the inscriptions from, every accessible stone, visible or disclosed; and he has surveyed the surrounding grounds. His topographical plan is "the most complete account that has been yet rendered of any site in Egypt, or perhaps in other countries as well. The information thus obtained has enabled the history of the place to be worked out, and has exhibited the successive changes that have overtaken the great works left there by the rulers of each period." [Second Annual Report, p. 7.]

To illustrate our author's systematic thoroughness: the two unfolding map-plans have a number on each monumental remain specified; there are twelve plates or pages full of inscriptive delineations from these monumental remains; the numbers both on the plans and on the inscriptions are tabulated: the reader, therefore, finds at once the inscription to a plan, or the plan to an inscription — *e. g.* plan 279 is inscription 10; inscription 22 is plan 180. Each lock has its key, and each key is fitted to a lock. Moreover, "at the top left-hand corner of each plate the proportion is stated which the drawings bear to the monuments." This is but a single revelation of the excavator, who, from his researches at the great pyramid to the last-turned stone at Sâh, may be said to have opened a new era in the methods and for the study of archæological research. Should Sâh be again covered up, be swallowed by an earthquake, or be sunk in the sea, his complete records preserved for all posterity.

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Imagination is not to play fast and loose in such a publication; it is not *A Thousand Miles up the Nile* (that simultaneously charming and scholarly book); and yet has not Mr. Petrie been a little too serious in telling that for which he has such genius and enthusiasm to do? Could he not have thrown in some of the picturesque details which gave his weekly reports a flavor of the poetry of archæology? A spade is a spade; yet there is something in the handling of it. Between the speculative theories of a Piazza Smyth and scientific results like those at Sân "a great gulf is fixed;" no true archæologist would pass over if he could; and yet one might cull an archæological flower here and there without falling headlong into the abyss. But it is not all thus with *Tanis*, Part I. The chapter on "Bakakhuiu, the Lawyer of Sân," detailing the wares of *vertu* and ornament and domestic use in his house, recalls one of the occasional "house-openings" at Pompeii, which makes dull archæology attractive to popular comprehension, and magnetic to draw out the essential dollar.

The twenty-four photographic views admirably illustrate monumental and other scenes, — "the view across the sanctuary" and the one "down the whole temple to the pylon" giving a clear idea of ruinous Zoan. There are five views of Tell-el-Maskhutah (Pithom), one of which is of the two store-chambers laid bare by M. Naville. To see the massive brick walls, even in photography, sets the imagination to filling in with the toiling Hebrews! The Fund's books seem to be inter-illustrative and inter-explanatory. The plates of monumental texts in *Tanis*, I., are to appear translated in *Tanis*, II. The Papyri of Sân, too, are undergoing the closest study of Naville and Revillout for publication. The frontispiece illustrates some rather artistically ugly but historically precious objects, among which we note a piece of the unique bronze lattice found at Pithom. Plate XII. has 53 "varieties," for the museums, descriptively catalogued on another page. Chapters I., II., III., V., are respectively Sân before the Empire, Sân under the Empire, Greek and Roman Tanis, and *Measurements and Tables*.

When Sân was first settled is an unsolved problem. Zoan is found in the Egyptian Za' or Za'n, and *sokhet Z'an* is identified with the Biblical "field of Zoan." In the hieroglyphic inscriptions, however, the ancient name is Zal or Zalu, which is not Egyptian. Zal has been conjecturally put as the classical, and Za'n as the popular, form. The determinative sign indicates that the place was a resort or abode of strangers. But Mr. Petrie touches on none of the philologies; and so *de facto* is he that he gratuitously intimates of the two blocks inscribed with the name of Pepi of the VI. dynasty, that Rameses II. may have looted them at Denderah for building his temple at Sân. Who knows? As the *Saturday Review* (December 5th) said of his attitude, "When a discovery is made there is nothing to be brushed away. Mr. Petrie states a fact. If it will not square with somebody else's theory, so much the worse for the theory." He pronounces the first *known* piece of work that of the broken red granite colossus of Amenemhat, first king of the XII. dynasty. Perforation of the strata, disclosing inscriptive proofs, can alone tell us Zoan's age. With this king we begin to find the signs of fine sculptured work. Usertesen I., his successor, adds his black granite statue, "of the highest possible finish and brilliancy," on the back of which Minepthah (the Pharaoh of the Exodus) placed an inscription of himself.

A most important discovery is connected with the next king, Amenemhat II., namely, words on a fragment of his colossus which go to show that here was Avaris, the great military stronghold, which authorities have located at various points, but which Mr. Poole in his article on Zoan, in Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, and the *Classical Atlas*, have both placed at Sân. The words translated read, "Lord of Ha-uar — Beloved" (of Ptah or Amon, as the case may be). He gives himself the title — so common among the royal egotists — of "Lord of the place," *i. e.* of Ha-uar, which the Greeks called Avaris. To this evidence Mr. Petrie makes no allusion; but photog. 4 of plate XIII. refers to the design on Plate II., which awaits translation in *Tanis*, II.

Valuable geographical links, in the chain which our author is re-connecting, appear in such inscriptions as that of Nehesi (associated with the Turin papyrus), which gives the name of the district of Sân as Ro-ahtu at that time. Well said Naville in the *Academy* (April 5, 1884):—

A small fragment with a name is sometimes of greater value than a fine statue. In this respect Mr. Petrie has already made an interesting discovery. It is a fragment of a statue belonging to the XIII. dynasty, the inscription of which records that the royal son Nehesi erected a monument to Set, the lord of Roahu. Set is well known as the god of the Egypto-Semitic population of the Delta. Roahu is the name of a region; it means the opening, the entrance, of the cultivated fields. It seems to indicate that at that time Tanis was a border-land, and that the cultivation did not extend farther.

Our author's keen eye notices a marked peculiarity in the Hyksos inscriptions at Sân. They are always in a line down the right shoulder, never on the left; whereas the Egyptians inscribed either side indifferently. This Semitic honoring of the right shoulder recalls at once such passages as *Exodus* xxix. 22; *Leviticus* vii. 32, 33; *Numbers* xvii. 18, etc.

The Rameseside period, so magnificent in the days of the Hebrew oppression, is inscriptively rich. This chapter, crammed with descriptive measurements and disclosures, could be made into a large book without being diffuse. We marvel over the Ossa-and-Pelion-like manner in which sphinxes, obelisks, pylons, statues, colossi, steles, shrines, temple-walls, rise before us, intermingle, and yet each in its place and for a part. The great temple must have vied with Karnak in grandeur. Its statue of the Pharaoh who forced the Israelites to build Pithom challenges our historic wonder. Did the helmet on the Minerva of Athens catch the eye afar when the sunbeams sparkled over it? Here speaks Petrie:—

This temple, a thousand feet from end to end, stood up above the surrounding houses; and over its long, flat roof towered up the colossal statue of the second founder of the city, the great Rameses, head, shoulders, and body even, above everything else, with stony eyes gazing across the vast plain. This temple was worthy of the capital of Lower Egypt, replete with noble statues of the older kings, of the most magnificent work, and dominated in every part by the

royal splendor of the Smiter of Nations, the Strong Bull, the Destroyer of his Enemies, Rameses, Beloved of Amon.

Of the statue he says, "This was, so far as is known, the largest statue ever executed." His mathematical calculations, erring quite on the safe side, place the height at 92 feet and the weight at 900 tons. But his *Academy* report (May 31, 1884) estimates the height as 98 feet, and with its pedestal at 115 feet. The colossus of the Ramesseum, over 800 tons, is 60 feet in height, but it is a sitting statue. If 115 feet were the height, this erect statue overtopped even the tallest of the obelisks, that of Hatasu at Karnak, which is 108 feet, 10 inches in height. In the *Academy* notice Miss Edwards made this ready simile:—

To take a more familiar example: The height of the nave of Westminster Abbey is 102 feet; the Rameses of Tanis, if we possessed him entire, would need to be sawn off his pedestal to stand in it. The dome of the reading-room of the British Museum springs to a height of 106 feet from the floor below; but if we placed the Rameses of Tanis in the centre, where now sit the learned and courteous superintendent and his staff, nine feet of his red granite head-dress would appear above the roof.

Mr. Petrie gives "some connected outline of the architectural arrangements of the great temple," and a little knowledge of the Egyptian structures enables one to seem to vividly see the majestic pylon, the long avenue of monolithic columns, the highway of obelisks, the two huge colossi of Rameses, the line of royal statues of kings from the XII. dynasty down, and the adytum, now [phot. 5 of Plate XIV.] a jumbled mass of ruins. And to show how an archæological diamond may turn up amidst such mighty diggings, Mr. Petrie's spades disclosed the upper part of the stele of Tirhaka, inscribed with seven lines, which await translation. The lower part had nineteen lines, which have been published by De Rougé in his *Etudes sur des Monuments du Regne de Taharka*. The connection of this monarch with the Esar-haddon and Hezekiah of Scripture makes such an inscription particularly valuable.

The store-chambers at Pithom surprised us by their

thickness of wall, — six to nine feet, — but how about the great wall of Pisebkhanu at Sân? Listen to the recital: —

At the end of the temple axis I had a tunnel cut into the wall of crude bricks. This wall is about 80 feet thick, so by a tunnel 40 feet long the centre of it was reached. It proved to be entirely built by Pisebkhanu, every brick bearing his cartouche upon it. The highest part of the wall (at the southeast corner) is still 25 feet high, although it has been much ruined and washed down by the rains, so that all the temple area is filled with its mud. If we grant that it originally averaged 45 feet high, 70 feet thick, and 3,400 feet in length, — an estimate rather under than over the truth, — there must have been over twenty millions of these bricks stamped by Pisebkhanu, the bricks varying from 16.6 to 18.0 long, 8.4 to 8.7 wide, and 5.0 to 6.1 thick.

The above illustrates immensity and substantiality at Sân, the work in hand, and the simplicity with which Mr. Petrie tells of his doings. So of the important fact that nothing has been found of the XVIII. dynasty, — that of Thothmes, — he simply remarks that some persons are thereby led to think the Hyksos were still at Sân at that period. *Res non verba* must be his Egyptian excelsior.

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But seriously and educationally, these memoirs, invaluable to the college and theological library, are a priceless boon to the cause of Oriental research, not only in their recorded results, but in their instructive inspiration. They will make and methodise a larger study of Egyptology. Such masterly elucidations for the cause of historical truth and data which intimately concern human interests and advancement, it is not too much to say, are the foundation and the corner-stone of a new and an enduring edifice in the science of Egyptian archæology. *Tanis*, I., will as surely add to Mr. Petrie's fame as an excavator as it must as surely demonstrate the imperative need of financially sustaining a work whose results already (to quote Sir J. W. Dawson, president of the British Association for the Advancement of Science) "have been most valuable, not only in illustrating Egyptian history, but also the relation of Egypt to the Old Testament." The popular story of Zoan and of these explo-

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WILLIAM C. WINSLOW.

THE BENEFICIARY EDUCATION OF YOUNG MEN FOR THE SACRED MINISTRY.

WHEN our LORD organised His Church, He gave it not only a constitution and laws, but also officers to administer its affairs, and to lead the soldiers of the Church militant in the aggressive warfare against sin, the world, and the devil. These officers had to be trained for the performance of their specific duties. Those whom He selected to be His immediate successors, He kept with Him during the three years of His public ministry. He gave them such personal instruction as they required. He imbued them with His own spirit. He taught them the things pertaining to the kingdom of God. When they, in turn, went forth to preach the Gospel to every creature, they took with them, in their labors and travels, an Apostolic staff of devout men, who aided them in their work, acted often as their messengers and representatives, and were gradually trained to become their successors in the highest office of the ministry.

There were, at that time, no Church Colleges and Theological Seminaries, and this personal instruction was the only way in which the necessities of the case could be met. But times have changed since then, and church work has been more thoroughly organised in every department. Sometimes, at the present day, a parish priest will undertake, in addition to his parochial duties, to instruct some youth in the classics, ethics, logic, rhetoric, philosophy, Hebrew, and theology, and prepare him to pass the required examination for admission to Priest's Orders. But such cases are comparatively rare, and are becoming less and less frequent. The reason seems to be twofold. First, no parish priest, whatever his ability may be, can give the instruction which the

When Sâ'n was first settled is an unsolved problem. Zoan is found in the Egyptian Za' or' Za'n, and *sokhet Z'an* is identified with the Biblical "field of Zoan." In the hieroglyphic inscriptions, however, the ancient name is Zal or Zalu, which is not Egyptian. Zal has been conjecturally put as the classical, and Za'n as the popular, form. The determinative sign indicates that the place was a resort or abode of strangers. But Mr. Petrie touches on none of the philologies; and so *de facto* is he that he gratuitously intimates of the two blocks inscribed with the name of Pepi of the VI. dynasty, that Rameses II. may have looted them at Denderah for building his temple at Sâ'n. Who knows? As the *Saturday Review* (December 5th) said of his attitude, "When a discovery is made there is nothing to be brushed away. Mr. Petrie states a fact. If it will not square with somebody else's theory, so much the worse for the theory." He pronounces the first *known* piece of work that of the broken red granite colossus of Amenemhat, first king of the XII. dynasty. Perforation of the strata, disclosing inscriptive proofs, can alone tell us Zoan's age. With this king we begin to find the signs of fine sculptured work. Usertesen I., his successor, adds his black granite statue, "of the highest possible finish and brilliancy," on the back of which Minepthah (the Pharaoh of the Exodus) placed an inscription of himself.

A most important discovery is connected with the next king, Amenemhat II., namely, words on a fragment of his colossus which go to show that here was Avaris, the great military stronghold, which authorities have located at various points, but which Mr. Poole in his article on Zoan, in Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, and the *Classical Atlas*, have both placed at Sâ'n. The words translated read, "Lord of Ha-uar — Beloved" (of Ptah or Amon, as the case may be). He gives himself the title — so common among the royal egotists — of "Lord of the place," *i. e.* of Ha-uar, which the Greeks called Avaris. To this evidence Mr. Petrie makes no allusion; but photog. 4 of plate XIII. refers to the design on Plate II., which awaits translation in *Tanis*, II.

Valuable geographical links, in the chain which our author is re-connecting, appear in such inscriptions as that of Nehesi (associated with the Turin papyrus), which gives the name of the district of Sân as Ro-ahtu at that time. Well said Naville in the *Academy* (April 5, 1884):—

A small fragment with a name is sometimes of greater value than a fine statue. In this respect Mr. Petrie has already made an interesting discovery. It is a fragment of a statue belonging to the XIII. dynasty, the inscription of which records that the royal son Nehesi erected a monument to Set, the lord of Roahu. Set is well known as the god of the Egypto-Semitic population of the Delta. Roahu is the name of a region; it means the opening, the entrance, of the cultivated fields. It seems to indicate that at that time Tanis was a border-land, and that the cultivation did not extend farther.

Our author's keen eye notices a marked peculiarity in the Hyksos inscriptions at Sân. They are always in a line down the right shoulder, never on the left; whereas the Egyptians inscribed either side indifferently. This Semitic honoring of the right shoulder recalls at once such passages as *Exodus* xxix. 22; *Leviticus* vii. 32, 33; *Numbers* xvii. 18, etc.

The Rameseside period, so magnificent in the days of the Hebrew oppression, is inscriptively rich. This chapter, crammed with descriptive measurements and disclosures, could be made into a large book without being diffuse. We marvel over the Ossa-and-Pelion-like manner in which sphinxes, obelisks, pylons, statues, colossi, steles, shrines, temple-walls, rise before us, intermingle, and yet each in its place and for a part. The great temple must have vied with Karnak in grandeur. Its statue of the Pharaoh who forced the Israelites to build Pithom challenges our historic wonder. Did the helmet on the Minerva of Athens catch the eye afar when the sunbeams sparkled over it? Here speaks Petrie:—

This temple, a thousand feet from end to end, stood up above the surrounding houses; and over its long, flat roof towered up the colossal statue of the second founder of the city, the great Rameses, head, shoulders, and body even, above everything else, with stony eyes gazing across the vast plain. This temple was worthy of the capital of Lower Egypt, replete with noble statues of the older kings, of the most magnificent work, and dominated in every part by the

royal splendor of the Smiter of Nations, the Strong Bull, the Destroyer of his Enemies, Rameses, Beloved of Amon.

Of the statue he says, "This was, so far as is known, the largest statue ever executed." His mathematical calculations, erring quite on the safe side, place the height at 92 feet and the weight at 900 tons. But his *Academy* report (May 31, 1884) estimates the height as 98 feet, and with its pedestal at 115 feet. The colossus of the Ramesseum, over 800 tons, is 60 feet in height, but it is a sitting statue. If 115 feet were the height, this erect statue overtopped even the tallest of the obelisks, that of Hatasu at Karnak, which is 108 feet, 10 inches in height. In the *Academy* notice Miss Edwards made this ready simile:—

To take a more familiar example: The height of the nave of Westminster Abbey is 102 feet; the Rameses of Tanis, if we possessed him entire, would need to be sawn off his pedestal to stand in it. The dome of the reading-room of the British Museum springs to a height of 106 feet from the floor below; but if we placed the Rameses of Tanis in the centre, where now sit the learned and courteous superintendent and his staff, nine feet of his red granite head-dress would appear above the roof.

Mr. Petrie gives "some connected outline of the architectural arrangements of the great temple," and a little knowledge of the Egyptian structures enables one to seem to vividly see the majestic pylon, the long avenue of monolithic columns, the highway of obelisks, the two huge colossi of Rameses, the line of royal statues of kings from the XII. dynasty down, and the adytum, now [phot. 5 of Plate XIV.] a jumbled mass of ruins. And to show how an archæological diamond may turn up amidst such mighty diggings, Mr. Petrie's spades disclosed the upper part of the stele of Tirhaka, inscribed with seven lines, which await translation. The lower part had nineteen lines, which have been published by De Rougé in his *Etudes sur des Monuments du Règne de Taharka*. The connection of this monarch with the Esar-haddon and Hezekiah of Scripture makes such an inscription particularly valuable.

The store-chambers at Pithom surprised us by their

thickness of wall, — six to nine feet, — but how about the great wall of Pisebkhanu at Sân? Listen to the recital: —

At the end of the temple axis I had a tunnel cut into the wall of crude bricks. This wall is about 80 feet thick, so by a tunnel 40 feet long the centre of it was reached. It proved to be entirely built by Pisebkhanu, every brick bearing his cartouche upon it. The highest part of the wall (at the southeast corner) is still 25 feet high, although it has been much ruined and washed down by the rains, so that all the temple area is filled with its mud. If we grant that it originally averaged 45 feet high, 70 feet thick, and 3,400 feet in length, — an estimate rather under than over the truth, — there must have been over twenty millions of these bricks stamped by Pisebkhanu, the bricks varying from 16.6 to 18.0 long, 8.4 to 8.7 wide, and 5.0 to 6.1 thick.

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College and Seminary can, with their well-trained corps of competent professors. The best results, in any department of human activity, are produced by a division of labor. The man who has spent many years in studying and teaching one branch of human knowledge is necessarily better fitted for the work than one who undertakes to master and teach all branches. Secondly, the general diffusion of knowledge and the growth of scepticism and infidelity demand of the clergy more thorough mental culture and more extensive knowledge than were required of them in former days. In the early period of our Republic, the *parson* was the *person* of the parish. He was, probably, the only college graduate there. His parishioners looked up to him with admiration and awe, wondering "how one small head could carry all he knew." His sermons were the great literary treat of the week. He exercised a commanding influence, not only by virtue of his sacred office, but also on account of his superior intellectual acquirements. But now there is hardly a clergyman in our country, occupying a parish of any special prominence, who has not in it several college graduates, men of thought and learning and culture; men who can reason profoundly, and wield the pen effectively. If he is to be the intellectual peer of these men, he must have had equal advantages, and must have devoted many years to careful study under competent instructors. While granting all that may be claimed for the wide-spreading influence of a holy life and a good example; while acknowledging that the triumphs of the cross over the stubborn wills of men are to be won, not by power, nor by might, but by the HOLY SPIRIT of GOD; I yet venture to assert that the Church requires able as well as God-fearing men for her leaders; that she needs an educated ministry to teach the truth with clearness and cogency, to dispel doubts, to fight successfully against the forces of infidelity, and to advance the Church to that commanding position which she ought to hold in the estimation of this great nation. We need not only to Christianise education, but also to educate Christianity. The HOLY SPIRIT, while imparting

His spiritual gifts to every man severally as He will, does not now bestow the gift of tongues, and it requires several years of hard study to master the three languages written on the cross.

But there are many at the present day who, while acknowledging the need of an educated ministry, object to educating clergymen at the cost of the Church. They oppose the whole system of scholarships. They think that it makes men unmanly to receive aid; that it pauperises them, and takes from them that spirit of independence which all ought to have. They would exclude from the ministry all who are not rich enough to pay their own way, or who have not sufficient energy and strength to earn the money required to pay all their expenses in school and college, and the theological seminary. They claim that those who enter other professions are not thus assisted, and yet their ranks are always full. They assert that the standard of the ministry is lowered by the character of those who, attracted by this easy way of getting an education, adopt it for their profession. These are objections which deserve a careful consideration from those who are connected with educational societies, or who are appealing to the Church for aid for students in theological seminaries, or Church schools and colleges. Let us look at the facts.

Does it make men unmanly, pauperise them, and take from them a proper spirit of independence to aid them in procuring an education? If it does, then are all the officers of our army and navy unmanly; then is every student unmanly who ever graduated from any college, or from any law, medical, scientific, or theological school in these United States. Are the graduates of West Point unmanly? On the contrary, there are no more manly men in the nation. And yet they receive far more aid in obtaining their military education than do the officers of the Church militant. The general government considers them as in its service from the time when they begin their military education, and provides for their entire support. It makes no distinction between the rich and the poor. It does not ask whether the cadet

needs assistance or not. The son of wealthy parents, with his income of several thousands of dollars a year, is as much a beneficiary as the poor boy who has not a dollar that he can call his own. And yet no one considers it a disgrace to be a cadet at West Point. No one regards himself as humiliated because he receives pecuniary assistance in obtaining his education. On the contrary, the position of cadet is eagerly sought for. Young men regard it as a high honor to be admitted to West Point. The generous treatment of the Government is productive of many men, and is rewarded by gallant service in the field whenever and wherever danger threatens the safety of the country. The officers graduated at West Point are noted for their manliness, their scrupulous integrity, their self-reliance, their devotion to duty. The beneficiary system has not pauperised them, nor taken from them their spirit of independence.

Now what does the Church do for her cadets? In her corporate capacity, nothing. Through her educational societies she endeavors to supplement the resources of those who need aid in obtaining an education. She does not entirely support any. She makes a distinction between the rich and the poor. Putting the minimum cost of an education at \$400 a year, her average scholarships will pay but \$150 of that sum, leaving \$250 to be provided by the parents and friends of the student. If we allow two years to prepare for college, four years for the college course, and three for the seminary, each student must provide for himself, on the average, \$2,250 before he is prepared to enter the sacred ministry. It is not every father who can or will provide such an amount of money for the education of one son. If he has, as is the case with most men, a moderate income not exceeding \$1,000 or \$1,500 a year, with his household expenses to meet, and other children to feed and clothe and educate, he must have a love for the Church, and believe that his son has special qualifications fitting him to minister at her Altar, before he and his family will be ready to exercise the self-denial required to carry that son through a nine years' course of study, and fit him for his life's work.

The aid afforded by the educational societies to one thus situated is of exceeding importance, and renders possible what would otherwise be impossible. There are times in the life of almost every man when \$100 is of more value than \$500 would be at another time.

It is not true, as is claimed by some, that beneficiary students, as a rule, are taken from the lowest classes in society, and that getting their aid for nothing through the aid of scholarships, they enter upon a ministerial life, in order to better their condition and rise in the social scale. They do not get their education for nothing. It costs them not only many years of hard study, but a large outlay of money as well. And I am unwilling to think so meanly of my brethren of the clergy as to believe that any large proportion of them have entered the ministry in order to make more money than they could in a secular profession, or that they would solemnly declare that they believe themselves "inwardly moved by the HOLY GHOST to take upon them this office and ministration," when they know that they enter it merely to rise in the social scale.

I grant that there are unworthy men in the ministry. There always have been, and there always will be. Divine wisdom and foreknowledge even has not excluded them. Satan was once an angel in heaven; and our blessed LORD chose Judas among His twelve Apostles. The Church was forewarned that she must expect to find tares with the wheat. In the days of primitive Christianity there was an Ananias, a Simon Magus, a Demas, and a Diotrephes. We need not be surprised, therefore, if, in spite of all the precautions that are taken, a few worldly-minded, self-seeking, covetous, sensual men should find their way into the ranks of the ministry. But I deny that they are the exclusive product of educational societies.

But we are told that there are a great many unemployed men in the ministry, incompetent men, whom educational societies have brought forward; or men who have no parishes, because there are none for them; and that it is needless to educate more until the hundreds

who are now without work have been provided for. As there is much misapprehension on this point, it may be well to look at the facts.

In *Whittaker's Church Almanac* for 1886, recently published, the total number of the clergy of the Church is said to be 3,725. In his Clergy List he specifies those who are rectors of parishes, assistant ministers, missionaries, chaplains, deans of seminaries, wardens, and professors of colleges, and a few others. The rest, whose work is not thus indicated, amount to 616. Now, if all these were men who had received pecuniary aid in obtaining their education, and had proved utter failures, being incompetent, unreliable, and unacceptable to every parish; or if, being able and willing to work, they were idle because there were no vacant parishes, then there would be good reason for the criticism that has been made. But are these the facts? Not at all. Some of the 616 are in charge of parishes, doing faithful work, and were put into the list by mistake, because the Editor of the Almanac only knew that they had left one parish, and had not learned to what other they had gone. Many of the 616 are superannuated, who, on account of the infirmities of age, have been obliged to retire from active duty after long years of devoted and successful service. The fact that 98 of them are Doctors, 74 of Divinity, and the remaining 24 of Law, Medicine, and Philosophy, proves that they were not incompetent or idle men. Others, in the prime of life, with an eager desire to work, and with mental abilities unimpaired, are, nevertheless, afflicted with some bodily ailment, which compels them for a time to suspend their labors. Others, having private means, have taken up their residence in some city, which affords an opportunity, perhaps, for the education of their children, and officiate somewhere almost every LORD'S Day. Others are engaged in literary labor for the Church, editing her papers and reviews, or writing theological works in defence of the Faith. Others are travelling in foreign lands, recruiting their health, and gathering valuable information to use in their future work. If you deduct the members of these vari-

ous classes from the 616 mentioned above, it reduces the number of failures to a very small figure. And why should we not expect occasional failures in the ministry? Are there not failures in every department of life? Are there not briefless barristers, doctors without a patient, and teachers without scholars? Do not bankers, and brokers, and merchants, and manufacturers fail? Is there any department of human activity in which all attain success? We know that many men mistake their calling. They enter upon some business or profession, which seems to accord with their tastes, and which promises fairly, but find, after a time, that they have not the qualities, or habits, or training, that it demands. I doubt not that many of the failures in the ministry are attributable to the lack of that thorough education which beneficiary aid would have secured for them. Young men sometimes grow restless at the thought of a nine years' course of preparatory study, and persuade themselves that the Church needs their services at once: and kind-hearted Bishops, anxious to fill their vacant parishes, and to relieve the youth from his struggle with penury, seem sometimes to forget the admonition of the Apostle, to "Lay hands suddenly on no man."

We might infer from the remarks that we sometimes hear about the over-supply of ministers, that there were no vacant parishes. But a careful examination of the Parochial List in *Whittaker's Church Almanac* shows me 628 vacant parishes in the different Dioceses, and over 100 in the Western Missionary Jurisdictions. No doubt many of these are feeble and unable, without combining with some adjoining parish, to furnish a clergyman with a sufficient support. Others are among the strongest in the Diocese, and will soon, no doubt, obtain a supply. But the fact remains that there are now vacant parishes enough to exhaust, two or three times over, the entire supply of unemployed clergymen who are able to work. Such being the case, what possible chance is there to extend the Church, and occupy new and promising fields?

But we are reminded that whenever a desirable parish

becomes vacant, there are scores of applicants for it. Persons who are supposed to have influence with the Vestry are written to, and urged to advocate the claims of this or that candidate. Does not this, they ask, prove conclusively that there are already too many clergymen in the Church? Not at all. It only proves that a great many clergymen are receiving an insufficient support, and would like the privilege of earning enough to enable them to dress respectably, to buy a few books, and to educate their children. The comparatively few parishes which pay more than a living salary are in demand, but there seems to be no general scramble for the 740 parishes and missions of the Church that are now vacant.

I have said that all graduates were beneficiaries. Are they not? Is there a college, a theological, medical, law, or scientific school, which charges its pupils with the full cost of their education? Are they not all provided with buildings, furniture, apparatus, and with greater or less endowments, which the piety and liberality of former generations have furnished? If the salaries of professors, the wages of servants, the rent and repair of buildings, the cost of fuel and lights, and all the other expenses of an institution were divided up each year, and charged to the students that attended it, would there not be a rapid diminution in their numbers? The present students of Columbia College enjoy the benefit of nearly six millions of dollars, which she has acquired during the 130 years of her existence. Do they pay anything for the privileges which this money affords them? Not a cent. Are they not then beneficiaries? Is not every wealthy youth who attends that institution receiving actually more aid than our poor candidate for Orders with his scholarship of \$150 a year? But I fail to see that it makes any one of them unmanly, or deprives him of his independence of character.

It is said that those desiring to study law, or medicine, or civil or mechanical engineering, receive no aid in obtaining their education, and yet their ranks are always full. It must be borne in mind, in the first place, that

the course of study for these professions need not be as protracted as for the ministry, and that the chances of making more than a living in them are so favorable that a student can afford to run in debt, if necessary, in order to get his education. But is it true that they receive no aid? I am told that \$11,000 are distributed annually in Yale College, and \$42,000 in Harvard to needy students, without regard to their future profession. Of course, many of the recipients of this bounty study law, medicine, and engineering. The new University in California, for which Senator Stanford has recently given \$20,000,000, will doubtless have its law, medical, and scientific schools, and furnish privileges, which the money of its students could not begin to pay for. The Yale Scientific School receives from the estate of its founder from \$10,000 to \$20,000 a year to make up deficiencies in its income.

A friend — Henry A. Fairbairn, M. D. — has kindly procured for me some statistics with regard to medical colleges. He says that

the Medical Department of the University of Maryland charges needy students but \$50 a year, and others \$120. The College of American Medicine and Surgery in Atlanta, Georgia, educates one student without charge from each congressional district. Atlanta Medical College does the same. The Eclectic Medical College of Georgia has several beneficiaries. The Department of Medicine and Surgery of the University of Michigan instructs residents of the State at reduced rates. The Homœopathic Medical College of the same University pursues a like course. The University of Virginia has scholarships, which are granted to the applicant who passes the best examination in the English branches.

No doubt, if we could get at the facts, we would find that a like course was pursued by law schools and other educational institutions throughout the country. But a tree is best known by its fruits. The effect of beneficiary aid to students is most clearly shown by the class of men which it turns out. I think it must be allowed, by those who take a careful survey of the whole field, that our Bishops, Priests, and Deacons are, as a body, men of earnest devotion, high moral character, intellectual ability, self-denial and self-sacrifice, filled with love for their

MASTER and His Church, ready to spend and be spent in the cause which they so well serve. And yet the Secretary of the Society for the Increase of the Ministry assures us that, "It is clearly demonstrable that five sixths of those now ordained require assistance to some extent." Three of the Educational Societies inform me that they have assisted in educating more than twenty of the Bishops of the Church. Are these unmanly men? Can any one, without a knowledge of the facts, pick out the twenty, because they fall below their brethren in independence of character?

Pecuniary assistance in preparing candidates for the ministry is not confined to the Church in America. The Church of England has found it necessary to adopt the same system, and, with her wonted liberality, gives more generous aid than we do. The Clerical Education Fund in the Diocese of Canterbury, for example, bestows scholarships not exceeding £80 or \$400 annually for three years to promising candidates for university education. These, they say, "have the twofold good effect of raising the position of deserving men, and of adding to the supply of Candidates for ordination, still very far short of the demand."

The laity sometimes find fault, because the clergy are not all men of commanding intellectual ability. We are not all endowed with the same qualities, and we cannot all be equally great. There are young men, whom you can never convert into bright scholars or eloquent orators. And yet they often make most excellent parish priests, and are beloved by their parishioners, and respected by all who know them. A liberal education is of great service to them, and they appreciate it. They work hard in college. They are conscientious and painstaking. We know that they are doing the best that they can; but it is impossible for them to rise intellectually above a certain standard. And yet they have their place. They are needed in the ministry, and we could not well dispense with their services. Great men are scarce in the world. The principal part of the work that is done in all the departments of life is done by men of moder-

ate abilities. Dr. Matlack tells of a good Bishop, who was once asked by a lay friend, "Why is it, Bishop, that we have so many *ordinary* men in the ministry?" "Well you see," replied the Bishop, "we do the best we can with the material we have to draw from. We do not select the Clergy from the Angels, but from the laity."

But it may be asked why students need aid now any more than they did in former times. The answer is because the necessities of student life cost very much more than they did then. Household and other expenses were very materially increased during the war, and though prices have receded from the extreme point reached when gold cost nearly 300 per cent., yet they have never fallen to the old standard. When the annual cost of an education runs up, as it has, from \$150 to \$400 a year, a young man with limited means must either receive aid, or stay out of college. Nor is it possible for him, at the present time, to keep on with his studies, and, at the same time, to earn enough money to pay his expenses. The standard of scholarship has been raised to meet the demands of the age, and the course of study, in all our colleges, has been correspondingly enlarged, so that one is obliged to give all his time and energies to it. Our students, as a class, are not afraid of work. They are glad of an opportunity to do anything that is honorable to eke out their scanty incomes. They play on organs: or, if they cannot do that, they blow them. They work, at odd hours, in gardens. They act as book agents. They teach private pupils. They read service, on Sunday, in vacant parishes. During the long vacation, they get positions at the watering-places and in the mountains as clerks, and book-keepers, and stewards. They work on farms, and help gather in the harvest. And yet these positions do little more than pay their vacation expenses, and perhaps provide them with necessary clothing. The positions which they can fill, and which they can procure, are none of them very remunerative. Desirable vacancies are overrun with applicants. The employer, having so many to choose from, naturally selects one who has had some experience in the business, or who in-

tends to make it a permanent occupation, rather than an inexperienced youth, who must needs give it up in two months. Formerly, college students used to spend part of every winter in teaching school, and some of the New England colleges had their long vacation in the winter to afford an opportunity for this. But now, if the proprietor of a private boarding-school is in need of a teacher, he goes, not to an undergraduate, but to an Educational agency, and makes his selection from a score of applicants of age and experience. Even the district-school, though content with less talent and education, desires a teacher of experience, who has proved his capability in some other position.

All these influences have operated adversely on the number of candidates for Orders, and consequently on the number of ordinations. There is no lack of men eager to engage in the work of the ministry, if only they could obtain the necessary support while prosecuting their studies. The demand for scholarships far exceeds the supply. Every year scores of worthy applicants are turned away. Being prevented from studying for the ministry, they turn their attention to something else. They cannot remain in idleness at this period of their lives. They therefore engage in some occupation which offers them a support. In a few years, they are past the age for study, their thoughts are diverted from the ministry, and they are settled in their course of life.

I am indebted to the Rev. Mr. Whittlesey for some of the suggestions made above, and also for some statistics in regard to candidates for Orders. He says:—

The serious decline in the number of candidates for the ministry set in precisely when the upward march in prices began. From 1830 to 1840 the growth of the ministry was 10 per cent. annually. It gradually declined decade after decade till 1860, when it became 4 per cent. annually. From 1870 to 1880 it fell off to 2 per cent. Now it is about 1 per cent. There has been no advance in the actual number of candidates for 25 years. In 1860 the number was 292. The average since then has been about 290. In the same period the number of communicants has gone up from 146,000 to 400,000. The number of laborers remains practically unchanged, while the flock to be tended has been growing beyond computation.

The number of ordinations to the Diaconate varies from 90 to 140 annually. Last year it was 139; while the losses from death and other causes were 80, leaving an actual gain of only 59 for 65 Dioceses and Missionary Jurisdictions. That is a gain of less than one clergyman a year for each Diocese. How can the Bishops of North and South Dakota, of Nebraska and Colorado, where the population is pouring in by the thousands every year, and where cities are built up almost in a day, do the work expected of them with only one additional clergyman a year? How can they preach the Gospel to every creature? How can they enter in and possess the land? How can they provide for the wants of even their own communicants, who have come from other Dioceses to live under their jurisdiction? What chance have they of anticipating other religious bodies, and pre-occupying some desirable field, so as to extend the bounds of the Church? We ought to send out ten times as many clergymen as we do to meet the demands of the times. But where are we to get them, except from the ranks of the middle class in society, who now offer themselves for the work, and who represent the strength and security and coherence of this great nation? These are the men who know something of self-denial and hardship, who are not afraid to work, who are willing to go out into the highways and hedges of the world and compel men to come in, that God's house may be filled. If you cut off all these men by refusing to give them aid, where will you find others to take their places? The rich do not offer themselves in any great numbers for a work that demands self-sacrifice and the endurance of hardships, and they never will. When our LORD chose His Apostles, did He not select them from the fishermen and taxgatherers? Did He not tell us how hard it was for them that had riches to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven? Is it any easier now than it was then? Is wealth the only or the principal element required in candidates for the ministry? Are not intellectual ability, earnest devotion, personal piety, strict conscientiousness, loyalty to the Church, love, gentleness, and sympathy

quite as important? Conflict with difficulties, a readiness to meet and overcome obstacles, do indeed call out one's inherent powers, and strengthen him for future struggles. But if it be necessary, in order to develop one's manhood, that he work his own way through school, and college, and seminary, without external aid, and earn enough to pay his own expenses, even though it take him twice nine years to reach the ministry, then let the rule be applied unsparingly to all. Let the son of wealthy parents give up the advantages of his position, and put himself on a level with the poorest of his associates. Let those who have friends able and willing to assist them decline such assistance, and fit themselves for the future conflicts of life by a long struggle with poverty. But is such a course necessary? Would any one recommend it? Would it not be deemed most unwise to subject a youth unnecessarily to such hardships? There are difficulties enough in the pathway of most lives. We need not go out of our way to find more. There are burdens enough laid upon us sooner or later. To voluntarily assume a burden greater than we can bear is an act of the supremest folly. The student who lacks the very necessities of life is in no condition for vigorous intellectual exertion. "It is the work," as Juvenal says, "of a great mind, not of one bewildered about the means of procuring a blanket, to conceive," as Virgil did, "of chariots, and horses, and forms of the gods, and such a fury as confounded Turnus." "Horace was well-fed when he sang *Euoe*." The old clergyman who used to borrow five dollars of a parishioner every Saturday and return it the following Monday, because, as he said, he could always preach better with five dollars in his pocket, is an illustration of this truth. The hard-pinched student, who scrimps and saves in every imaginable way, who must needs deny himself all the luxuries and many of the comforts of life, is in no condition to form lofty thoughts and noble conceptions. He cannot but think of himself. He feels the pressure at all times. If his mind is to expand and to develop into a vigorous manhood, free him from this cramping pov-

erty. Let him know that his necessities will be provided for, and that he need take no anxious thought for the morrow. Let the strong bear the infirmities of the weak.

I honor the Educational Societies for what they have already accomplished. I trust that they may receive ten times as much support in the future as they have in the past. If we are to obey the command of our Divine LORD, and preach the Gospel to every creature, we must have large additions to the ranks of the ministry.

Whosoever shall call upon the Name of the LORD shall be saved. But how shall they call on Him in whom they have not believed? And how shall they believe in Him of whom they have not heard? And how shall they hear without a preacher? And how shall they preach except they be sent?

GEORGE B. HOPSON.

DISESTABLISHMENT.

IN the recent election of members of the British Parliament the policy of separating the Church of England from the State, popularly called disestablishment, appeared for the first time as a question of practical politics, and as such, one to be discussed before the people.

The spoliation of an established Church is not without precedent in Great Britain or elsewhere. Every Roman Catholic State in Europe, and most if not all of those in America, have at one time, some of them several times, made use of Church property either for secular State purposes, or to fill the pockets of influential laymen. The tendency of all corporations, and especially of religious bodies, is to accumulate property; and the Roman Church in times of great ignorance, wickedness, and superstition had the power both of frightening and inducing wealthy rascals, especially when such were moribund, into grants and gifts for religious uses. As a religious corporation never dies, and rarely distributes any of its invested property, it could not but happen in some countries that an unreasonable proportion of the land came to be engrossed by the Church organisations. The monks had a good eye for choice parcels of land, and so good was their judgment that to this day the presence on a farm of the ruins of a monastery may safely be taken as *primâ facie* evidence of great natural productiveness in the neighboring soil. Under these circumstances it may be conceived that the time would come when, unless the tendency was counteracted, so large a portion of the land best adapted for cultivation would be engrossed by the corporations, that the people would rise up and reclaim it.

Our mother country was always jealous of this grasping tendency of Church corporations. Before the Norman Conquest the law of England forbade conveyances of them of real estate without special license of the crown, and even now one has only to read the deeds under which he holds title to real estate in America to see traces of the subtle craft with which the clerics contrived to avoid the restraining laws 800 years ago.

Nor is disestablishment altogether a novelty. There have been a sufficient number of instances in which the church has been separated from the State to make such proceeding amenable to the advice and warnings of history. Some of these have been the results of violent political revolutions, but others have occurred with more calmness of deliberation.

Congregational independency was once established in New England. It was a polity rather than a religious faith, for some range certainly was permitted in the Confessions composed for, and professed by, each separate Church." There was no creed common to all the parishes, — there was a "Church of CHRIST" in every town, but there was no Church of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, or Connecticut. Independency implied the right of the organised body of Communicants in each parish to agree upon its Creed or Confession without any exterior control. This implied also the right to add to, or deduct from, — that is, to alter the Creeds, by a majority vote, and they were sometimes altered, so that the "first Church in Blankville," which was once Trinitarian and Calvinistic, became Unitarian or Universalist; without any change in its title or its property, and with but little, perhaps, in its membership. The parish called and settled a minister whose views were different from those of his predecessor, and who led the people more and more rapidly away from the old to the new faith.

All of this had no consequent effect upon property or endowments. The meeting-houses of the Establishment were built, and the ministers were paid, exactly as school-houses and school-teachers were, by a tax on the polls and estates of the people in the town or parish.

Disestablishment was not an abrupt action of the legislature, but it was developed through a century or more of time. It touched no man's conscience rudely, and it implied no robbery. The meeting-houses did not belong to the Church, but to the people of the towns; they were houses for all kinds of public meetings, and were habitually used for town meetings and other secular assemblages, and, as a rule in the country towns, they were used for both secular and religious purposes, after, as well as prior, to the disconnection between the States and religion.

These buildings were not consecrated or in any way set apart as holy. Such hallowing of buildings or places was an abomination to the Puritan. Within the last score of years, the Old South Meeting-House in Boston has blossomed out with a conspicuous granite tablet on its tower; and on the tablet is a carved inscription, intended probably to be historical, which includes the statement that it was "desecrated by the British troops" in 1775; which statement is probably as perfect a combination of falsehood and foolishness as man is competent to carve on stone, in that, *First*, that which was never consecrated cannot be desecrated. *Second*, it was in that very house, only two years before its occupation by the British, that a body of men masquerading as Indians appeared, and with shouts and war-whoops led out of it a howling mob to the Boston Tea Party. *Third*, within ten years after hoisting the tablet to its place, the "Church and Society" sold the building at auction *on condition* that it should never be used for religious worship on Sundays. The proprietors were correct logically in the use made of the meeting-house and the terms imposed upon the purchaser; the lie was unnecessary and too expensive. The fact is, that no odor of holiness attached to the New England meeting-houses, and no conscience was offended by their devotion to worldly uses. No property was taken from the societies. Ministers who had been settled by the town or parish received the agreed salary from the town so long as they lived, unless they accepted some compromise.

So little was the process of separation from political things one of abrupt alteration of the laws, that even now many, perhaps most, parishes in New England have, under the statutes, the power to levy taxes on the polls and estates of their members for parish purposes, just as the towns levy taxes for town purposes. The parish meeting is notified by warrant as of old, and chooses its moderator, and clerk and assessors who are sworn, as the town clerks and assessors are sworn.

It was natural and reasonable that people who did not hold the faith of the majority of the Churches should object to being taxed for the support of a religious belief which in their opinion was erroneous: and when the law excused all such from contribution, it was found to be economical to be heterodox, and dissent prospered. It seems rather a pity that the tax for support of religious worship could not have been continued with only the condition that each tax payer might assign his own tax to the support of his own faith.

In cases where the meeting-house had been built and maintained by subscription or by gifts, the parishes were left undisturbed.

In many of the British Colonies, too, the Church of England was maintained by grants of the Imperial Parliament, or by taxes on the estates of the Colonists, and when, as the result of a legal opinion, this support was withdrawn, the Churches were made over to the parishes which occupied them, and provision was continued for the payment of incumbents during their lives.

The ancient Church of Ireland maintained its independence of the See of Rome for 600 years after England had acknowledged the Papacy. In the time of Adrian IV. the Synod of the Catholic Church in Ireland submitted itself to the authority of the Pope, and the same Pope bestowed the Sovereignty of the island upon Henry II. of England in exchange for some Peter's Pence. So that the later and present ills of the Irish people, so far as they are due to English dominion, may be traced back, and are chargeable, in the first instance, to the action of the *infallible* Pontiff to whose ecclesi-

astical rule they cling, and not to the Protestant William and the Puritan Cromwell.

The Church of Ireland of more recent date was never the Church of the people of Ireland. It was a branch of the Church of England encamped in Ireland. Too many of its Churches and estates were reft by power from the ancient Church, and its support was in a large measure obtained from rates assessed upon the property of people who refused to acknowledge its authority. Repudiated alike by the Presbyterians of the North and the Papists of the South, the so-called Church of Ireland probably never represented one fifth of the natives of the country. It was not the legitimate successor of the ancient organisation of the Catholic Church, but a galling reminder to opponents of days of persecution and of suffering at the hands of English rulers.

Disestablishment in Ireland was effected without trespassing on any vested rights; a fair portion of the property and revenues of the Church was set aside for its benefit. The Churches and Cathedrals which it had used were not taken away, and after ten years of experience it seems probable that the Church will be stronger for its disconnection from the Saxon political rulers.

The history of the Church of England is a very different one. The idea seems to prevail in America that in the reign of Henry VIII. a new religion was invented; that the property of the Catholic Church in England was confiscated for the benefit of the new religion; that this new religion was imposed upon the people by acts of Parliament passed in slavish obedience to the King's command; that this new religion, then christened "The Church of England," has ever since been maintained by grants from the Legislature out of taxes assessed upon the people. So intelligent a person as the Rt. Honorable John Bright does not appear to know better than this, and our late able historian, Dr. George E. Ellis, really believed that, at some time or other, the British Parliament transferred all the ecclesiastical property of

the realm "from the use of Orthodoxy to the service of heresy." One will seek in vain for any such statute.*

From the time when first there was a Kingdom of England its people was the most patriotic of nations, and always quick to respond to any alarm that the Pope, or any other foreign potentate, was trespassing upon the rights of England. Yet they loved the Church, so that down into the present century "Church and State" (not even "State and Church") was a favorite toast and a popular political war-cry. Of old the Church had been a barrier to them from the oppressions of the feudal barons; through her educational institutions a way was open for children of the people to attain to positions of distinction, even to the primacy of all England, which took precedence of all the nobility; she was a great employer of labor as well as the great instructor in all knowledge, and by her alms the poor were sheltered when their working days were passed. To the people the Church was always a friend. There was always enough of agitation upon questions involving the authority of the Pope and the King to keep alive in the minds of the English commonalty a distinction between the Church and the Papacy, and all ranks of Englishmen, cleric and lay, loved to speak of their Church as "The Church of England," and so described it officially in *Magna Carta*.

For the King to be at odds with the Pope was no strange thing in the experience of England, but their disputes related chiefly to questions of authority and patronage, not at all to doctrine. When Henry fell out with the See of Rome, he understood perfectly the feeling of his subjects, and the historical correctness of the position which he assumed. His reformation was one purely political. He had asked the Pope to declare his marriage with Katharine void, and the Pope for purely political reasons had at last refused his assent. Kings of England had previously striven to restrict the author-

* The phrase, "The Church of England by law established," does not seem to occur in any statute earlier than the Act 12 and 13 William III., A. D. 1700. It was never recognised by the Church itself.

ity of the Pope, but Henry destroyed it. His predecessors had been willing that the Popes should have some authority in the selection or confirmation of the high dignitaries of the Church, but Henry engrossed the whole. Parliament cordially sustained the King. The little opposition to his measures was also entirely political or personal. Ecclesiastics who hoped more from the Pope than from the King were sullen or hostile, but the people as a whole were loyal. The first blow fell upon Cardinal Wolsey, who, as legate, had oppressed the Bishops and clergy, and Bishops, Abbots, and other clerics rejoiced at being relieved from oppression, were grateful for it, and when the King became the chief dispenser of patronage the hearts of the ambitious turned warmly to him.

To the masses of the people there was no change apparent: the same parish priests conducted the same services in the same way; there was no change in doctrine or ritual. No doubt there was much talk about the ale-houses and farmsteads of the deposition of the Pope, who in their minds was a foreigner who lived in Italy, a country where people poisoned each other, and where they could not speak English, but they knew that bluff King Hal reigned in England supreme over all, clerics as well as laymen, and they were glad to know it. People were christened, married, absolved, and buried in the good old way, and saw nothing to disturb their faith. So little was there of change in the Church of England during all the reign of Henry VIII., that such a thing as a schismatical chapel was unknown in the land. Papists and Royalists, Romans and Anglicans, all were Catholics; all worshipped at the same altars, and were shriven by the same priests. True, ecclesiastics were imprisoned and beheaded, but for treason, not for heresy.

It is quite apart from our object to follow the story of the Reformation. For our present purposes it is sufficient to note, that whether the realm was ruled by bloody Queen Mary or bloodier Protector Somerset, — whether the service was in Latin or English, — whether "Bishops and other ministers" were beheaded, imprisoned, turned

out or reinstated, the corporate succession was maintained in Diocese and parish everywhere. Tithes were paid, glebes were cultivated, rents were collected, and incomes accrued to the incumbents of parishes, stalls, and bishoprics, so far as we can see, with entire regularity. A Romanist might plow the glebe, and an Anglican might gather the crop, or *vice versa*, but the parish Priest always did both, or it was done in his name.

The monasteries were rich not only in land, but also in patronage. The right of presentation, *i. e.*, nomination of Priests, in many parishes had been acquired by the colleges of monks, and in some they had agreed, for value received in tithes assigned to them, to supply from their own numbers Priests to do the parish work; these patron rights and these tithes, with other spoil at the dissolution of the religious' houses, were divided among the gang of high-born thieves whose heirs and successors hold them to this day.

Under good King Edward the plundering was so thorough as to reach the jewelled vestments and costly altar plate. The Protector Somerset pulled down two or three churches in London in order to furnish stone for building his palace, and after his rule nothing of the Church property was left which was convenient for the practice of petty larceny. Thus it happened that under the Commonwealth there remained only such cumbrous plunder as the lead from the roofs, the bells from the towers, and the monumental brasses, memorials of the dead sunk in the stone pavements of the churches. To be sure the Puritans used some of the great fonts for horse troughs, but that was not for profit; like the damage done to statuary and pictured windows it was mere wantonness of sacrilege, which soothed their consciences just in proportion as it offended the consciences of Churchmen.

Puritan ministers received and used the income of the parishes, very generally without doing, as they were legally bound to do, the repairs necessary to keep the parsonages, church-yards, and chancels in good condition; but the several corporations survived even so as

that, at the Restoration, the Puritan ministers who conformed to the Church's law were permitted to retain their livings, and the greater part of them reverted to the bread and butter side of politics and belief with no apparent reluctance, if not with alacrity.

With the return of the Stuarts the Church resumed its olden ways, but after them, and up to the accession of Victoria, its story is a sad one. Bishops were often appointed from political preferences, and parish Priests for the purpose of giving an income to some family connection of the patron; and although even then there were many earnest and holy men in surplice and in rochet, yet, as a rule, dullness and deadness prevailed in religious matters. Within 30 years of the accession of William and Mary Convocation was suppressed, and the Church had no voice through which it might remonstrate, no organisation by means of which it could reform itself, and Parliament usurped powers which belonged to the Convocations.

The Methodist and the Evangelical movements should have resulted in giving new life to the Church, and no doubt would have done so if the Church had been autonomous; but as it was, the Methodists, once a sect within the Church, became a powerful body of dissenters; and Evangelicism infused new force into the almost dead ashes of Puritanism and independency.

The present establishment is a commemoration of the fact that the people of England were once a religious unit. Then the clergy in Convocations made the Canon laws, and those laws were approved or vetoed by the communicant laity assembled in Parliament. Convocation could not make Statute law, nor could Parliament originate Canon law. Whatever law either made was subject to the approval of the monarch, who was thus far supreme over both.

In the last two centuries the situation is entirely changed. There is now no Parliament of England, but one of Great Britain only. Its doors have been opened to men of all religions, and men of no religion. It has attained to such authority, that the House of Commons

is in fact the governing power of the realm, and Parliament not only makes the statutes, but has the power of altering the fundamental law,—and is in fact supreme above the British Constitution. And now there exists the great anomaly that the Church of England is the recognised Church in a country which is ruled in part and may yet be entirely subject to the sway of persons who not only are not members of that Church, but who as religionists have interests actually hostile to it. Such a state of affairs cannot and ought not to continue.

Disestablishment *per se* should have no terrors for Churchmen. Not only is the connection between Church and State one of no advantage, but it is actually an impediment to the exercise of the powers of the Church. No doubt some distinction comes to individual officials of the Church because of the connection, but no benefit accrues therefrom either to the Church as a body or even to the generality of Churchmen. There was a time when no man could hold place in the realm unless he was a communicant, but all that has passed away. Now those of any religion, and those who are total abstainers from religion, may be members of Parliament or hold office in the Empire. A Roman Catholic was a few years ago Viceroy of India, and is now a Cabinet minister. A Unitarian sits with him in the Cabinet, and at least one infidel in the House of Commons. The Queen, who is said to be by law a Churchwoman in England and a Presbyterian in Scotland, is the only person whose religious belief is an essential prerequisite to official station. The monarch must not be a Roman Catholic, but her prime minister, who wields the Crown patronage, may be an enemy of the Church, and make his ecclesiastical nominations for the purpose of working evil.

True, some of the Bishops have seats in the House of Lords, but that body has lost control of legislation, and the time of the Bishops could be better employed elsewhere; and it should be remembered that while Non-Confessionists, Dissenters, Agnostics, and Atheists are capable of occupying seats in the House of Commons, the clergy of the Church are barred out,—perhaps on the old the-

ory that the Convocations are their Parliaments. Disestablishment must open the doors to them also, and this is but one of many benefits which will accrue to the Church as the result of a separation. It will be free—free as all other religious bodies now are and as the Church is not—free to select its own Bishops and cathedral clergy—free to create its own organisation,—free to make its own laws,—free to establish its own courts,—free to have its own colleges,—free to exercise liberty of ritual,—free from the dictation of ministers, privy councillors, and vestries,—free in so many ways as one would suppose would induce all good Churchmen to long for it—pray for it—welcome it.

Naturally one asks why then is not separation effected at once and without further delay. Partly by reason of honest doubt as to the effect upon a State which has so long been a part of Christendom: partly because of the conservatism ingrained in the English character; but chiefly because of the difficulty of formulating the terms of separation. The State and the Church have from time immemorial been so interwoven that with the best of will on all sides there would be much to disentangle;—and there is not good will on all sides.

Those who have led in the agitation for separation are radicals in politics and religion. They are willing that the Church should go away if she goes away empty,—but are not willing that she should take with her her property. They are in favor of disestablishment, but insist also upon disendowment. The most radical of them, and the class is a numerous one, propose that tithes, glebes, real property of every kind, even to school-houses, churches, and burial-grounds, should be secularised; and they reckon up the wealth of the Church in the total value of all these, and calculate that the spoil will be sufficient to give to every poor man three acres of land and a cow.

Is it surprising that the Church objects to this? On such terms she would be so impoverished as to fall from being the wealthiest of all religious bodies and become the poorest. Even so, liberty would be better than slav-

ery, but ought the Church to submit to have taken away not the coat and cloak only, but the last rag of clothing. And ought she to submit and allow the buildings which she has consecrated to the worship of God, many of which are hallowed by age and by their history, to be turned to worldly if not unholy use.

The property of the Church of England, or rather of the various corporations of the Church (for the Church itself is not a corporate body), Bishops, Priests, chapters, colleges, and schools, is almost entirely real property. It consists of tithes, glebes, churches, and church-yards, residences for parsons, Bishops, and cathedral clergymen, and other landed estates. The incomes of the parishes and the Dioceses are derived from property which belongs to the parson or Bishops as corporations sole, and those of the schools, colleges, cathedrals, etc., from real property held by their ruling bodies as corporations aggregate.

The patronage, *i. e.*, the right to nominate to incumbencies, is not Church property, but private property inherited, bought, and sold as is other real estate. Patronage originated in the fact that some person, perhaps 20 years, perhaps 1,000 or more years ago, built a church and endowed it with glebe, tithes, or rents — reserving to himself and his legal representatives forever the right to nominate (not to appoint, for the Bishop of the Diocese can refuse to institute) the Priest who shall officiate in the Church.

All of the Church property proper was originally acquired, as other real property in the realm was acquired, by gift or purchase; the origin of the title is often lost in the dim distance of centuries, but it is held to-day by precisely the same title as other property is held. Bishops and parish Priests have inherited each from his predecessor just as regularly as the representatives of the oldest families have inherited their estates from father to son, but usually with less of uncertainty as to the origin or transmission of the title; and corporations aggregate have held their property, many of them for twelve and fifteen centuries, unquestioned.

By the English Constitution (says Blackstone), every Bishop and every parson, as well as some deans and prebendaries, is a corporation. At the original endowment of parish churches, the freehold of the church, the church-yard, the parsonage house, the glebe, and the tithes of the parish were vested in the then parson by the bounty of the donor as a temporal recompense to him for his spiritual care of the inhabitants . . . and with intent that the same emoluments should ever after continue, as a recompense for the same care. . . . The present incumbent and his predecessor, who lived seven centuries ago, are in law one and the same person, and what was given to one was given to the other also.*

If it is right to take away the property of the parson of Wantage it is right to take away the lands and houses of the Duke of Norfolk, of Sir Thomas Brassey, or of John Smith tinman. As to the property of the Crown and of most of the old nobility, their right is not in any degree so well founded to-day as that of the Archbishop of York or Canterbury. Indeed, a great part of the realty of the former belongs more justly to the Church to-day. The title of the Duke of Bedford to his estates dates back no farther than to Edward VI., and is founded then on spoliation of the Church.

True, the Parliament has *power* to do what it will, but the exercise of power without right is tyranny, and it has the same power and the same right to deprive Mr. Chamberlain and his heirs of his screw factory that it has to deprive Bishop Temple and his successors of the revenues of his See of London.

But Parliament, — that is to say the House of Commons, — with its usurped powers and changed constituency, appears to be on the eve of a course of tyrannical government such as England has not seen since the Parliament of the Commonwealth exercised similar although smaller powers, and the combination of Christians, Jews, Turks, and infidels in session at Westminster as a House of Commons is not likely to be restrained by any sense of right — provided that the transaction in

* After the great fire of London in the time of Charles II., S. Paul's Cathedral and some other city churches were rebuilt in part from the proceeds of a rate on coals brought into the city for sale. I can find no other instance of any such assistance anywhere, and in these cases the new churches were built on sites which were ancient properties of the Church, and the contribution in this case was paid by the citizens of London only.

question can have given to it an appearance of plausibility and popularity.

Here comes in, however, the real difficulty. Willing they are to steal — how shall the plunder be divided?

This was comparatively a simple question in the days of the Tudors, for the syndicate of robbers, limited as it was to the court people, was not a large one, the plunder was ample in quantity, and the corporations who owned the property having been first rendered unpopular and then extinguished, there was no owner or heir to complain, and no public feeling to oppose the schemes.

Now it is very different; the radical voters have been promised "three acres and a cow," tax payers have been told that the revenue of the Church would be used to reduce the rates, and the godless philosophers are waiting to enjoy the spectacle of the cathedrals turned into museums or places of popular entertainment, and the parish churches sold to the highest bidder. But as the time approaches it is feared that to abolish tithes would be merely to add to the incomes of the landed estates from which that revenue is now derived, and the land owners will contest any other appropriation of it. Original founders of churches and endowments or their descendants may claim the reversion of their property. Owners of estates on which churches stand will assert that the land has always been theirs, encumbered only by the occupancy of the parish buildings for Church purposes. Besides these, every separate Diocese, parish, or beneficiary will have legal points of its own to make. There are tithes, too, which have been impropriated to lay owners, and among these owners are influential Liberals, who will not relish such reduction of their income.

Yet another class of difficulties arises. Nobody denies that the property of the Church of England was created by and for the benefit of the people of England, and it would seem to follow that the people of England should be the only party to benefit by the confiscation of such property.

If this is to be so, neither the people of Ireland or of Scotland can receive any part of the spoil, — and who is

there to represent England *per se* and to receive and administer the spoils. England has no parliament—no king—no home rule—no separate corporate existence. It is merged in Great Britain. Yet the Church of England has no existence beyond the bounds of that kingdom. It is not easy to devise a scheme by which Englishmen should alone be benefited by confiscation, and to sell the property and put the proceeds into the imperial treasury would be to divide it with Ireland and Scotland, who have no shadow of claim to it.

Yet again Churchmen are beginning to suggest that if there is to be an organised system of ecclesiastical confiscation it must not be limited to them. If the Church of S. Saviour at Leeds, built and endowed only 40 years ago by Dr. Pusey, is to come under the hammer of the auctioneer, why should the tabernacle of Mr. Spurgeon be spared. If Westminster Abbey, held as it has been in the same hands time out of mind, is to be appropriated to secular uses, Mr. Newman Hall's meeting-house must submit to the same treatment. Despoiled Churchmen leagued with the irreligious of the Radicals might obtain some satisfaction by disendowing the dissenting bodies also, so that all should take a fresh start on an equal basis of poverty.

These difficulties and others have caused the agitators to pause and consider. Mr. Chamberlain and his Radical friends had made plans for a campaign, and the Liberation Society so-called had announced its extreme platform, when the Church of England people suddenly bestirred themselves. Bishops addressed their clergy,—parsons their people, and able writers through newspapers, magazine articles, and leaflets warned the public of the robbery proposed. So violent was the outbreak that Mr. Gladstone hastened to pledge his word that disestablishment should not be considered in the then approaching Parliament, and finally compelled Chamberlain to mutter some words of consent to that effect. And yet the result of the election has been to leave the Liberals in a minority in Parliament, and to oblige them to depend upon Parnell for the votes needed to carry on the

Government, and the Parnellites take no interest in disestablishment. The fact that the vote was so close, although Churchmen who were Liberals were to a great extent held in the party traces by Gladstone's assurances, has been a warning even to Radicals to repress their extreme ambition; — it has demonstrated that in England the Church still possesses the majority of the suffrages, and that no disestablishment can be effected without a reasonable consideration of the rights of property involved.

One point which has been pressed with great force upon the new voters is the great income of some of the Bishops and clergymen and the disparity in such incomes. To a laboring man earning less than a dollar a day the revenue of the Archbishop of Canterbury, say \$75,000 a year, appears monstrous and inordinate. The curate working hard for \$300 a year naturally feels as if the salary of his rector, \$6,000 a year, might profitably be reduced for his benefit.

Mr. H. is a prison chaplain in London, and is paid about \$1,500 a year salary, from which the only deduction is the income tax of fifty dollars. He was recently offered a "fat living" in the suburbs of London, but had the prudence to employ a solicitor to examine and report to him the exact state of the living from the financial point of view. It then appeared that the income of the benefice was as follows: Rent of the glebe, \$3,540; tithes, \$2,330; fees (average), \$375; total, \$6,245. This was promising, but now for the other side; deduct for rent and tithes not collected, \$250; rates and taxes, \$1,240; Queen Anne's bounty, to repay money borrowed by a predecessor to build a rectory, \$900; insurance, \$20; collection of rent and tithes, \$175; pay of 4 curates (the parish contained 11,000 souls, 3 subordinate churches, and 3 mission rooms), \$3,500. Total of deductions, \$6,085. Net income of the benefice, \$165. The freewill offerings of the people had averaged \$1,400, increasing the net income to \$1,600 a year, but the subscription and gifts to parish objects expected from a clergyman with a living of \$6,000 would be so severe a drain that Mr. H. declined the living, preferring his modest salary of \$1,500 a year.

The Archbishop of Canterbury ranks above all subjects of Great Britain except the royal family; his gross income is \$75,000; but two Lords who sit below him have more than ten times that revenue, which is also exceeded by that of many, probably hundreds of, commoners. He is obliged to maintain a state in some degree proportioned to his rank, and two huge dwellings with their numerous attendance of servants, repairs, and rates, —and he must be given to hospitality. Unless he is systematic in accounts and economical in his habits, he may have to trench upon his private fortune in order to make both ends meet.

And these greater incomes are, after all, the prizes of the clerical profession, and now represent the reward of capacity, learning, ability, and a life of labor given to the Church. Many a physician has more to show as the result of his professional labors, — and the gross income of the Archbishop is below the net earnings of the large group of lawyers who stand at the head of the bar; while merchants, bankers, and manufacturers would regard the compensation as a small one for the later years of a successful business life.

The Church of England Working Men's Society, a body of some 10,000 communicants, and an important agency in reaching and dealing with the working class, sums up the figures and tells the people that all the income of the Church, if divided among the people, would give them less than \$2 each per annum, and this therefore represents the utmost that they can be considered as paying now for the benefits which attend the maintenance of their parishes and Priests, and that in consideration of this small sum they are entitled to the service of the parson in health and wealth, and in poverty, sickness, and sorrow.

It has been intended in this article to state with reasonable brevity the question pending in England. Discussion upon doctrine has been eliminated from it, but attention is invited to these facts:

That the Catholic Creeds are still the Creeds of the Church of England, and the religion of that Church is the same to-day that it was a thousand years ago:

That, treated merely as a question of property, disendowment is robbery :

That the lands and endowments, whether given within the past 50 years or 1,500 years earlier, are the property of the Bishops, Chapters, or Priests as much as anything is the property of anybody in England :

That this property never belonged to the State, and was not created out of any gift of the State, nor supported by any tax on the people :

That it has all come from the free gift of members of the Church in their individual and not in their collective capacity :

That the vast majority of it has accumulated since the Reformation :

That, whatever the Church may been when the Protestant influence of German sovereigns deprived it of its convocational voice and imposed upon it political Bishops, it has for the past 50 years been doing the work of the Master, for the promotion of which its endowments were given :

That such confiscation of Church property as has been proposed has no precedent among English speaking people, if it has anywhere in Christendom :

That no wrong will be done to the public or to any person by allowing the Church to go her way, retaining her property, and at liberty to reconstitute herself as a branch of the Catholic Church free from entangling alliance with a State no longer Christian.

That such liberty ought to be gladly accepted by the Church is, perhaps, more clear to us who are lookers-on than to our brethren in England, who, having never known a state of ecclesiastical freedom, are dreading the untried experiences which manifestly await them.

FRANCIS J. PARKER.

JAMES HERVEY OTEY, FIRST BISHOP OF TENNESSEE.

*Memoir of Rt. Rev. James Hervey Otey, D. D., LL. D.,
First Bishop of Tennessee.* By the Rt. Rev. WIL-
LIAM MERCER GREEN, D. D., Bishop of Mississippi.
New York: James Pott & Co. 1885.

THE author of this volume had good opportunities of knowing his subject, and with sympathetic feeling he has delineated the character of a "noble frontier Bishop, one of the great minds and hearts of the American Catholic Church."

Tracing him from his birth in Virginia, on the 27 of January, 1800, through his boyhood, college course at the University of North Carolina, and subsequent tutorship in his *Alma Mater*, Bishop Green finally presents him to the reader as a married man, converted to the Episcopal Church, baptised by himself, and admitted to the Diaconate and Priesthood by Bishop Ravenscroft.

Mr. Otey, after his ordination, established himself in Franklin, Tenn., and opened a school for boys, which appears to have been for some time his principal means of support. He saw the preëminent necessity for Christian education in a new country, and his interest in it led him in after years to found institutions for both sexes in his Diocese, and to care for them with paternal solicitude.

Just such an institution [says Bishop Green, p. 24] as we now have in the University of the South dwelt in his hopes and prayers, as well as on his pen and tongue. It is enough to melt a feeling heart to read the list of his repeated disappointments, and no one can fail to admire the perseverance with which he clung to his dearly cherished ideal.

From the date of his consecration as Bishop of Tennessee, on the 14 of January, 1834, his life was one of incessant toil for the Church, seeking to plant it wherever he could, and supporting it with all his moral and intellectual energies. He had manifold trials to contend with, and dark and bitter days befell him as he went forth to his missionary work. His labors were not confined to Tennessee. He was really entrusted for a time with the oversight of the Church in the entire Southwest, and had charge of the Missionary Jurisdiction of Arkansas and the Indian Territory, besides being provisional Bishop of the Diocese of Mississippi. Upon the election of a Bishop of Louisiana, and a few years later of his biographer as Bishop of Mississippi, he confined himself within narrower limits, and gave more time and thought to his beloved Tennessee and to his favorite educational scheme, the University of the South.

Fearless in the performance of what he believed to be his duty, and conscientious in the expression of his opinions, he sometimes offended those who wished him to bend a little to circumstances and change occasionally his line of action. He was conspicuous in the presentment and trial of Bishop B. T. Onderdonk, and received censure from many of his old friends for his course in that painful matter, but he knew the purity of his motives and governed himself accordingly. He entered these words in his Diary after the preliminary steps had been taken: "May God pardon my errors and grant of judgment, if I have erred, and overrule all to the good of His Church for CHRIST's sake."

On one occasion he was asked to consecrate a new church in his Diocese which had been erected by private munificence. It was before what is now commonly called advanced Ritualism had become much known among Churchmen in the Western and Southwestern States, and hence alarm was easily taken at the introduction of such unusual adornments of the house of God. They betokened, it was supposed, a drift in the direction of Rome. But it is best to let the biographer tell, in his own words, the story of the proceeding in this particular case.

On arriving at the church, accompanied by Bishop Polk, he beheld a cross on every gate, three crosses on the roof, and one on the belfry. On entering the church, he found the font at the south door of the church, and on the altar and super-altar a large movable cross, two vases for flowers, two very large candlesticks, and five other crosses with multiform devices upon them. This was rather too much for the uninstructed taste of the good Bishop. He had not been initiated among the more 'advanced' of his brethren. He was too old-fashioned to admire or even tolerate such novelties ; therefore, at his command, these insignia were all removed before he would proceed to the consecration. Great offence was taken by the worthy family that erected the church, and no regular services were ever after held in it. It was permitted to fall into decay, and no vestige remains to mark the occasion but the site itself, — one of the loveliest that could possibly be chosen for a house of God. Whilst compelled by honesty and by the truth of this narrative to record this event, the writer cannot wholly approve it. It was one of those very few occasions in which the dear Bishop's zeal for God got the better of his prudence. But he is fully convinced that no act of similar kind was ever performed with greater sincerity of heart or under a stronger sense of duty. The only question is whether the desired changes might not have been effected in the way of kind remonstrance, rather than by the word of command. The friends of the aggrieved party, encouraged by a few meddlers outside the Diocese, raised a temporary clamor against the Bishop, alleging that he had overstepped the bounds of his authority, inasmuch as there was no canon forbidding the use of these symbols. His only reply was, 'Canon or no canon, I would do the same again under like circumstances' [pp. 66, 67].

In 1850 indications of failing health began to appear. He was fairly worn down with hard work, and the rough experiences of a frontier life were telling upon his naturally strong constitution. Probably no one who has not tried them can comprehend the hardships and perils of travelling before the day of railroads in a new country which had not yet become much more than the home of the pioneer. Rides in crowded stage-coaches and on horseback over mountainous ranges and through swampy bottoms could not be taken without subjecting him to frequent attacks of illness, and weakening his physical strength.

Bishop Green describes very graphically the tone of his spirit under the effect of his domestic afflictions. His bereavements filled him with sorrow, and a few days after the death of a favorite daughter he wrote : "The world and all that is in it seem to me to be sad. I am

low down in the mire of despondency, but God sees my heart, and he knows that I do not falter in my purpose to love and serve Him, — no, not for a moment." His anxiety for the safety of his family is shown by a simple entry which he made in his Diary when he was about to take one of his long journeys: "Left home this morning for the visitation of Mississippi. I first burnt out all my chimneys, and commended my dear wife and children to God, invoking his gracious and merciful protection." When on the eve of sailing across the Atlantic, he wrote to his wife and sent her sundry presents for distribution in the household, not forgetting the servants, and then added, as his wish about his son, "Keep Mercer with yourself, and teach him yourself as much as you possibly can. Let him read the Bible to you, and learn the multiplication table."

Cases of discipline in his Diocese occasioned him great distress. The unhappy fall and condemnation of two of his clergy required him to pronounce upon them the sentence of degradation from the ministry, and in one case what added to his distress was the circulation and signature by respectable citizens in Columbia of a paper endorsing the character of a degraded clergyman, and "assuring him of their *unabated confidence* and support." When the Bishop heard of this he wrote: "We may well exclaim with the old Roman, *In quibus temporibus incidimus.*"

With a view to rest and the restoration of his health he was advised to take a sea-voyage and travel a few months in Europe, to meet the expense of which his friends furnished ample means. Accordingly in April, 1851, he embarked from New York for the shores of the Old World, and from the time he set his foot thereon to the 2 of October, when he reëmbarked for America, his mind was filled with the strange things which he saw, and his enjoyment of them was heightened by having for much of the time an intelligent and appreciative travelling companion. Bishop Coxe has given, in a freshly written letter, printed in the Appendix to this volume, his reminiscences of Bishop Otey while they

journeyed together through England, Scotland, and a part of the Continent.

His health improved under the treatment of the celebrated hydropathic establishment in Great Malvern, and on the 17 of June he was well enough to attend a public meeting of friends of the venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, held in S. Martin's Hall, London, and presided over by His Royal Highness the Prince Consort. Speeches were made by several distinguished lords and noblemen, who had been selected for the occasion, but for some reason Bishop Otey, though seated on the platform, had been overlooked and assigned no place in the programme of the day. Among others who spoke was the Duke of Newcastle, who referred in a friendly manner to the American Church and people, and, after he sat down, Bishop Otey asked him if an opportunity could not be allowed him to address the meeting. He was not posted in the stiff English formalities of such occasions, and when the Duke replied that he had nothing to do with the matter, he said, "Sir, I am an American Bishop, and I think it becoming the occasion that I should be allowed to respond to the sentiments which have been so kindly expressed toward my country and the Church of which I am a minister." He then, through the Bishop of London, got the ear of the Prince Consort, who gave him leave to speak, "if he would be very short," and in due time his name was announced.

Bishop Otey [says his travelling companion] was as innocent as a child in the affair, feeling anxious to express American gratitude with American freedom for the Society's nursing care; and when he arose, with careworn features and tall gaunt figure, but looking like an Elijah with his flashing eye and long-extended arm, there was a profound sensation in the assembly. He had gratified the popular feeling by breaking through the stupid conventionalities of the time and place, and he received a warm greeting. He was brief, indeed, but said something which ought to have been said. What could be more telling, as a living trophy of the Society, than the Bishop from the woods of Tennessee? [p. 353.]

On returning to America and his Diocese with improved health, he found all his wisdom and energies

needed to revive and shape the interests which had suffered some detriment during his absence. After the lapse of a year he removed his family residence to Memphis, where many devoted friends had been pressing him with offers and invitations. He had personal reasons for this, growing out of the endorsement by respectable citizens of Columbia of a clergyman who had been displaced from the ministry; and he made the change and separated, except officially, from a place where he had spent nearly two score of the best years of his life.

At the General Convention of 1853, the "Memorial" of Dr. Muhlenberg and others, touching "the actual posture of our Church, with reference to the great moral and social necessities of the day," was presented to the House of Bishops, and a Commission was appointed by that body to consider the memorial and report at the next triennial meeting. Bishop Otey was placed at the head of that Commission, and by virtue of the position conducted an extensive correspondence and drew up the able report. He seems to have given much time and thought to the matter, and his biographer states that in consequence of his labors upon it he was necessarily absent from the annual Convention of his Diocese in 1854.

Some Southern Bishops and a number of the leading clergymen and laymen of all the Southern Dioceses met the 4 day of July, 1857, on the summit of Lookout Mountain near Chattanooga, to formally organise the Institution which had been for a long time in embryo. Bishop Otey delivered an address on the occasion, and disclaimed any intention of sectionalism in the enterprise. "We rear this day," said he, "an altar, not of political schism, but *an altar of witness* that we are of one faith and one household. We contemplate no strife, save a generous rivalry with our brethren as to who shall furnish to this great Republic the truest men, the truest Christians, and the truest patriots." The Institution received the style and title "University of the South," and by that designation it was chartered.

Bishop Otey preached the sermon before the General Convention of our Church held in Richmond October,

1859, and his theme was what was then uppermost in his heart and mind, — Christian Education. The sermon was printed, and appears among the few discourses in the Appendix to the Memoir. We should be glad to make one or two extracts from it, but the limits of this article forbid.

The gathering clouds of civil war began to show themselves. Up to the end of the year 1860 he had maintained a good hope that the Union would be preserved, and that there would be no such bloody struggle as afterward ensued. He was most reluctant of all about him to see the inception of the contest, and did everything in his power to prevent it; but, to use his own words, "it was like throwing straws against the wind."

In a letter to Bishop Polk, of December 8, 1860, he said: —

Until within a few days past, my confidence was strong that there was left among the people at large an abiding love of country, and a respect for order and the supremacy of law that would resist the madness and the arts of those who are moving all the baser passions of our nature to plunge this nation into a gulf of horrors and sufferings to which the past history of the world furnishes no parallel. It is God alone that can still the madness of the people. Our national sins and ingratitude, I fear, have so provoked His wrath, that now there is no remedy. To what quarter shall we look, when such men as you and Elliott deliberately favor secession? What can we expect other than mob-law and violence among the masses, when the men of peace, the fathers of the land, the Ministers of the Gospel of peace, are found on the side of those who openly avow their determination to destroy the work which our fathers established at the expense of their blood, their fortunes, and some of them their lives? [p. 91.]

When the President of the United States, three days after the attack on Fort Sumter, issued a call for an army of 75,000 men to defend the Government and preserve the Union, his patriotism became sectional, and he "bestowed his sympathy and his prayers upon his native South and his more immediate friends and neighbors." He favored the acceptance by Bishop Polk of the military commission tendered him by the President of the Confederacy, and when, at the end of four months, he offered his resignation and expressed a desire to "resume his former pursuits," Bishop Otey rather advised

n to retain the position as one "into which he had been called by the Providence of God." He did not seem to know the violent death which in the fortunes of war removed Bishop Polk, or the joint Resolution of the two Houses of our General Convention, adopted in 1865, that "it is incompatible with the duty, position, and sacred calling of the clergy of this Church to bear arms."

To the sorrows of the Bishop over the loss of three beloved children was added in the "leafy month of June," 1861, the pain of parting from their mother. She had been his companion for forty years, and her death was a bereavement which he keenly felt. Writing to a friend in reference to it he said: "I need rest. I want to be alone: at least, to be in some quiet and retired spot where I may gather up the fragments of broken hopes, muse on the past, and strive, with S. Paul's spirit, to fill that which is behind of the afflictions of CHRIST in flesh, for His Body's sake, which is His Church."

For nearly two years longer he continued to do his work as best he might in turbulent times and amid the pressures of a terrible civil war. But he began to yield to the combined pressure of constant labor and failing health, and the end approached. "The stalwart form," so quote his biographer, — "once the pride and admiration of his people, must now return to the feebleness of oldhood, and give way to the power of disease. But in thankfulness be it recorded, that with this decay of the outward man there came no failure of intellect, no waning of faith; but rather the assurance of hope, and the foretaste of the glory which is to be revealed." He died on the 23 of April, 1863.

Enough has been said in this article to show the deep piety and manly Christian character of Bishop Otey. He forbade in his will the publication of his manuscript sermons, and directed that no other service or ceremony should be used at his funeral but the Office for the Burial of the Dead in the Prayer Book, and no other inscription put upon the monument which marked his grave but his name, birth, and death, with the words,

"The first Bishop of The Catholic Church in Tennessee."

The ten or dozen sermons and addresses in the Appendix which had been printed during his life attest his powers as a writer, scholar, logician, and preacher. His discourses were long, but attracted attention, and he seems sometimes to have had the art of giving direct effect to his utterances and descriptions. Bishop Green relates an incident which tends to confirm this statement:—

He was once preaching in Franklin, on the danger and the fatal ending of a sinful course. By way of illustration, he drew the picture of a young man leaving a home where he had been religiously trained, yielding easily to temptation, and finally lost to a sense of shame and sin. He was showing how, step by step, the unhappy youth had been led in the path of the destroyer, until he stood on the crumbling brink of destruction, when the cry, "My God! he's gone!" broke with a startling effect on both preacher and hearer. It came from an unsophisticated youth in the congregation, who with open eyes and ears and mouth had so closely followed the Bishop as to be oblivious of all present surroundings [p. 142].

Bishop Green has done a graceful thing in gathering up the memorials of an Episcopal brother who had stood in such close relations to him; and his work will be appreciated, not only in Tennessee, but by the whole American Church. It is hardly worth while to criticise what has been written so well and in such a gentle and affectionate spirit, but we venture to remark that he would have increased the value of the "Memoir" if he had broken it into chapters and added an index. As it is, the book, we trust, will have an abiding-place in our history and be read by many who have hitherto known but little of the cares and labors, the trials and sacrifices, the wisdom and piety, the firmness and fidelity of the first Bishop of Tennessee.

E. E. BEARDSLEY.

POPE LEO ON THE CHRISTIAN CONSTITUTION OF STATES.

THE Encyclical Letter of Pope Leo XIII., dated November 1, 1885, on "The Christian Constitution of States," deserves the attentive study of every Christian patriot.

The important theme of which it treats, as well as the distinguished position of its author, entitles it to respectful consideration.

A full translation is given in the *New York Freeman's Journal* under dates of December 12 and 19.

The New York daily press, so far as I have observed, have given their readers only fragments of this document, in which the omissions have been noticeable and important. The despatches from Baltimore, which purported to give a full translation, were prefaced with the following exposition: —

Instead of condemning in any way modern civilisation, or States as they exist at present, the Pope approves of all real progress and true freedom.

Efforts were thus carefully made to undo the effect on the public mind of "certain cable condensations" of the letter which previously had been published.

The attitude of Pope Pius IX. with regard to the relation of the Roman Church to civil governments was well understood by "the Syllabus of Errors," promulgated by him December 8, 1864, and by the Encyclical letter with which he accompanied it. As his convictions with regard to his own infallibility and Papal supremacy were strong, so, in these documents, his language was clear, and his meaning was unmistakable.

The contrast of his teaching with all modern principles of human liberty and civil government was set forth

in eighty criticisms on the current opinions of his day, with regard to liberty of conscience, freedom of worship, public education, the separation of Church and State, *et cætera*, all of which he condemned as pernicious errors.

It was believed, however, that his spirit was embittered by the political events in which he participated, for under his administration a death-blow was struck at the temporal power of the Papacy, when the Papal States were conquered and Rome was made the capital of a united Italy. After these events this Pontiff surrendered himself to voluntary imprisonment, and by repeated utterances scoffed at the power of a modern civilisation he no longer could control. That he might awaken a wide sympathy, he directed his followers in Italy to abstain from voting in popular elections.

The proclamation of the dogma of Papal Infallibility, and the issuance of "the Syllabus of Errors," called forth immediate and loud protests from statesmen in our own and other countries.

The conflict between Papal principles thus declared, with national independence and modern liberties, was so clearly drawn, that during the remainder of the pontificate of Pius IX. the relations between the Papal Court and the civil governments of Europe were severely strained.

Upon the election of the present Pontiff an immediate improvement in these relations took place. From the prominence he gave in his teaching to scholarly attainments and spiritual results, the Christian world, outside the fold of the Roman Church, were led to believe that he mentally acquiesced in the stern logic of events, and was more anxious for the spiritual life of his people than to follow the worldly ambitions of his predecessors.

The present letter assumes importance as the first *ex-cathedra* declaration of the present Pontiff as to his own attitude toward civil affairs. It is, I confess, disappointing to find that he specifically endorses this "Syllabus of Errors" of his predecessor as a safe guide to principles which Roman Catholics "might follow without mistake."

The whole letter, while apparently kind in spirit and argumentative in tone, evidently aims to establish by new methods the most extravagant claims of the Papacy as to its right to dominate in civil affairs.

The only differences discoverable in the attitude of the two Pontiffs on this subject are these: while the former was pronounced in his partiality for *absolute* governments, the latter admits that "the right of governing is not necessarily connected with any *form* of government;" while the former scoffed at modern ideas of popular government, the latter claims that the Roman Church bestowed all "genuine and manifold liberty;" while the former used his influence to withdraw his followers from support of, or participation in, civil governments which were adverse to his supremacy, the latter directs his people to make use of the elective privileges conferred by modern civilisation for the purpose of "remoulding the legislation and Constitutions of States" into harmony with the claims of the Papacy. The differences between the two are those of individual character, and of method, in reaching the same end.

The present attack is far more dangerous than the former. In this letter the art of the accomplished scholar is brought to bear in claiming for Romanism, as the exclusive exponent of Catholicity, all the gifts that from the first Christianity has conferred on the race, and in charging on Protestantism all the evils which have been developed through an excessive individualism. All the talent of the logician is used to confuse the separate functions of Church and State, that the way may be prepared for the claims of the Papacy, as the only earthly power capable of securing permanent social order.

With dialectic skill the present Pontiff addresses a generation which he assumes are forgetful of GOD as the supreme source of all authority, and of the CHRIST to whom "all power" has been given, and presses the claims of organic Christianity as alone capable of restraining the evil passions and licentiousness of modern society. Then, suddenly turning from premises with which many non-Roman Catholic Christians would

agree, he claims for the Church the inherent right "to decree in *all* things that *concern* religion." "To the Apostles" he says JESUS CHRIST gave "*free mandate* in sacred things, adding *the power of making laws*, in the true sense of the word, and the consequent twofold power of *judging and punishing*."

In the letter of Leo XIII. of June 17, 1885, on Catholic obedience, he still further claims that, "In the Church of God, by the express will of its Divine Founder, two distinct orders are established in the plainest way — the teaching Church and the Church taught, the pastors and the flock; and among the pastors one of them who is for *all the Supreme Head and Pastor*." "As the Church is one, and its Head is one, so its government is likewise one, and to that *all must conform themselves*." Then, to quote again from the Encyclical letter, "this authority is *absolute in itself* and plainly *independent of the civil authority*," for "as the aim of the Church is by far the noblest, so its power is of all the highest, and can never be considered inferior to the civil authority, or *in any way subject to it*." Wherefore, he maintains, "the State may not take indifferently as it pleases of many kinds of religion," but it is bound in the worship of God to adopt and *give preference to "that manner and rule according to which God has shown that He wishes to be worshipped"*. Therefore the obligations of Roman Catholics are clear, — to "give attention to the duties of citizenship;" "to take part in the government of the State;" "to change its ways," "so as to infuse the wisdom and virtue of the Roman Catholic religion into all the veins of the State;" "to cause effective measures to be passed so that *public provision* is made for the instruction of youth in religion and true morality;" "besides," he says, "in general, it is useful and honorable to stretch the attention beyond this narrower field, and to embrace every branch of public administration." "The Church, however," he says, "is very careful to prevent any one from being compelled, when unwilling, to embrace the Roman Catholic faith, for, as Augustine wisely admonishes, no person can believe unless he be willing."

The argument of the Encyclical is substantially as follows:—

God is the source of all earthly authority, in the Family, the Church, and the State. God's will concerning men is revealed through the Church, therefore through the Church God hands down authority to rule to those who possess it, in the Family and in the State.

The Church is composed of those who are organically connected with the Bishop of Rome, the successor of St. Peter. The Bishop of Rome is the Vicar of CHRIST, to whom "all power" was given. His decrees are infallible. He is the exponent of supreme earthly power, the source of all worldly authority. He gives authority to those who possess it in the Family. All marriages, therefore, outside the pale of the Roman Catholic Church are of imperfect validity. He gives authority to those who possess it, in the State. By him kings rule. But they must so rule that the interests of the Roman Catholic Church are promoted, and its influence is extended.

In consequence, however, of certain causes in the XVI. century, a civilisation has become prevalent which everges many of these postulates. Individual prerogatives have been enlarged, including a share in the civil government. A sharp distinction is drawn between the separate functions of the Family, the Church, and the State. In the latter, various forms of popular, representative and constitutional government have sprung up. These question the claims of the Roman Pontiff to supreme authority over all the departments of human life. In their operation, they have gradually hemmed in and restricted the free action of the Roman Catholic Church.

The question now arises, how the Bishop of Rome shall meet existing difficulties, regain his former power, and reëstablish a wiser and better order of civilisation. To stand universally aloof from civil affairs and to deride the present as a godless civilisation would accomplish little in many localities. Generally, the reversal of this policy is the teaching of true wisdom.

Therefore, whenever Roman Catholic interests can be advanced, let Roman Catholics enter actively into public

affairs, using the elective franchise which has been given them by modern civilisation for the purpose of shaping legislation and remoulding the constitutions of states into conformity with the principles of the Roman Catholic Church.

A Papal letter so full of unproved assumptions would not be especially dangerous *as an argument*, but when it is issued with words like the following : —

In regard to judgments to be formed, *whatever instructions the Roman Pontiffs may have delivered, or shall hereafter have delivered, each and every, it is of bounden duty to hold*, as grasped with a firm determination, and so often as pertinent occasion demands, openly to profess. And specifically regarding what they call acquired *liberties*, in these latest times, it behooves to abide by decisions of the Apostolic See, and to judge of these, one by one, as it has judged.

The document is seen to be intended, not so much for persuasion, as for command.

This present attack of the Papacy is a most dangerous one, in that it endeavors to apply to modern civilisation principles concerning individual liberty and civil government that are subversive of our American organic law, and destructive of our national peace.

If carried into action by a compacted religious organisation which seeks supremacy not by religious persuasion but by political menaces, it will force a conflict which heretofore has only been threatened by opposing convictions. The methods it uses make it the more dangerous at a time when the two political parties are so evenly balanced, and when so many unscrupulous politicians are willing to seek temporary success even at sacrifice of principle. It becomes especially dangerous when disguised under an apparently innocent demand for the religious classification, for public worship and instruction, of the inmates of certain State institutions, and when for this purpose they seek to divide these State wards according to a dual division into Romanists and Protestants.

It becomes most dangerous when the plea for "freedom of worship" is made to a liberty-loving people, who

are ignorant of the fact that it is sought by representatives of a Pontiff who has just publicly decreed that "to treat in the same way different forms of religion is unlawful for individuals, unlawful for States."

The first public indication of a change of purpose and method in the present Pontiff was shown in his successful effort to reduce to submission certain recalcitrant orders and newspapers in Rome. This was soon followed by the publication of his letter of June 17, 1885, on "Catholic obedience," addressed to the Archbishop of Paris. It has more recently been shown by his proclamation of a year of jubilee, with indulgences to all those who, in appointed places and ways, during this year, pray for his *intention* in this Encyclical letter.

Even before some of these events abroad attracted public attention, an unusual spirit of aggressiveness manifested itself among a certain school of Roman Catholics, especially in our large cities. The visit of Monsignor Capel, his extensive travels, his interest in American politics, and his bold claims for the Papacy, were followed by the mysterious loosening of previous party ties on the part of many of our Roman Catholic fellow-citizens, and by the massing of their votes for candidates of either party who were supposed to be favorable to their peculiar denominational claims.

The publication of this Encyclical has been followed by an order from the Archbishop of New York that no Priest hereafter shall officiate at the marriage of a Roman Catholic to a Protestant until articles of agreement have been signed pledging that the offspring of such marriage shall be reared in the Roman Catholic faith; and by a combined attack from the Roman Catholic clergy and from their papers on the Common School system.

While the Papacy continues its worldly ambitions and its political methods, in its vain hope of regaining a temporal power it has forever lost, it places the Roman Catholic Church on a different plane from all the other Christian bodies of the land. It is well for the American people to recognise this, and to treat it as *a politico*

religious organisation, and to consider at this time, whether they are willing to allow their civil equality to be undermined by those who claim that *in all matters of faith and morals* they alone are "the faithful," and all others are "heretics." In justice to those who are attached to Roman Catholicism as a religion, but who do not approve or support the *worldly* designs and ambitions of their hierarchy, the claims of this Church in the two departments, spiritual and secular, should, as far as possible, be kept distinct, and be met by different methods. As the Pope has "appealed unto Cæsar" for the settlement of his governmental claims, unto Cæsar he must go. But in this country, the Cæsar to whom he has appealed is the will of *a sovereign people*, who, when they understand the demand will effectually respond to it. As to the claims of this Church in the religious sphere, the State, as such, has nothing to do. In the future, as in the past, it undoubtedly will protect the equal rights of *all* its citizens, and it will treat the Roman Catholic Church as *one of many sects, all entitled to equal rights before the law, but none to special favor*. The American people have an exceedingly practical mind. They care little for ecclesiastical claims; they care much for the argument of good works, and for practical demonstrations of usefulness. That religious body which refuses to accept the position in which the Providence of GOD has placed it in this land, and which attempts to gain religious supremacy and control by any other method, especially by an appeal for special legislation in its own behalf, is doomed to eventual disappointment and failure.

With regard to the political claims which a certain school in the Roman Catholic Church are making at the present time, the State has everything to do. Neither by its laws, its patronage, nor by contributions from its treasury, can it afford to lend its aid toward accomplishing the ambitions of any religious body. Its fundamental law requires it *to protect all, but to provide for none*. In matters of civil allegiance, no country long can afford to allow two rival authorities.

In view of the Pope's express instructions to his followers "to change the legislation and constitution of States" into conformity to Papal claims, it is quite time for our people to reëxamine their constitutional defences against the establishment of a State Church. Because provision exists in the United States Constitution that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion," our people have rested secure that the functions of the Church and State in this country were permanently separated. But now it becomes apparent that the attack is not to be made on Congress for the establishment of a State Church, but on *State legislatures*; and this, not by direct issue, but by the indirect methods of implication. "The Central Committee for protecting and perpetuating the separation of Church and State" have, it seems to me, wisely discerned this. The amendment to the New York State Constitution which they propose, as follows, seems timely: "The Legislature shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or enforcing the dogmas of any creed, or the rites or ceremonies of any sect."

It would be a misfortune, consequences of which for evil could not be overestimated, if our Roman Catholic fellow-citizens should unite in supporting a policy which they had no voice in initiating, for Papal domination in our civil affairs.

It is encouraging to note that some highly esteemed laymen of that Church, who are strong believers in its claim in the religious sphere, have shown their patriotism not only by taking no part in recent aggressions, but by openly condemning them. As more of them have opportunity to meditate upon the contrast of the principles of the Pope's Encyclical letter with the organic law of this land, and of the conflict which inevitably must ensue if the attempt is made here to carry the Pope's instructions into practical effect, we believe that many more will enter their protest, and will endeavor to restrain the imprudent zeal of the Ultra-montanes.

GEORGE S. BAKER.

THE ROUTE OF THE EXODUS.

The Store-City of Pithom, and the Route of the Exodus.
By EDOUARD NAVILLE. London: Egypt Exploration Fund. 1885.

IN the first two verses of *Numbers* xxxiii.* we have a distinct, explicit statement, that what follows is a complete record of the Stations made in the great movement of the Hebrews from Egypt to Palestine, and that they are recorded in chronological order. But what modern writer, Jew or Gentile, has as yet accepted it as such? In every scheme, chart, or plan of the route known to the present writer, it has been assumed that this register is very defective; that it gives only certain principal stations, and that, even in regard to these, it is marred by errors of ancient copyists. Moreover, take any one, no matter which, of the many maps of "The Journeyings of the Hebrews," and measure the distances by the scale of miles, and it is obvious that the best appointed army could not accomplish them within the periods of time distinctly stated in *Exodus* and *Numbers*. How much less, then, the vast body of Hebrew emigrants, men, women, and children, from tottering age to nursing infancy, with flocks and herds, all to be handled as tenderly as those of their ancestor Jacob.†

* These are the journeys of the children of Israel, which went forth out of the land of Egypt with their armies under the hand of Moses and Aaron. And Moses wrote their goings out according to their journeys by the commandment of the LORD: and these are their journeys according to their goings out. — *Numbers* xxxiii. 1, 2. English Version.

This (the List or Register of) the encampments of the children of Israel, as they marched forth from the land of Egypt, according to their marches, through Moses and Aaron; and Moses recorded their marches according to their encampments by command of GOD; and this (is) their encampments according to their marches. — *Numbers* xxxiii. Vienna Jewish-German Bible (1876).

† *Genesis* xxxiii. 13.

It is, then, manifest that every scheme of the "Journeyings" hitherto made contravenes the register given in this chapter, and the dates given in others, and is therefore a fair mark for the derision of the sceptic. Do we, who believe the narrative of the *Exodus* to be *history*, really deserve the ridicule cast upon us for this belief by those who at the best hold it to be but a sort of historic-religious romance founded upon fact, — *such* fact, for instance, as Manetho supplies? It would seem so, so long as we can vindicate neither the geography nor the chronology of the record. Would it not be better, wiser, more humble and reverent, to accommodate maps to the history, rather than the history to conjectural maps?

On all the charts examined by the present writer there are but three stations given, the positions of which are laid down on positive knowledge; that is to say, from Rameses [ver. 3] to Ezion-gaber; for from Zalmonah [ver. 41] to the Jordan there is no difficulty. These three are Moseroth [ver. 30], Ezion-gaber [ver. 35], and Kadesh [ver. 36]; this last approximately. From these three a few others are no doubt correctly enough placed by inference. With these exceptions there is not one from Rameses to Horeb (inclusive), and from Horeb on to Hashmonah (inclusive), the position of which is not conjectural. Neither Robinson, Lepsius, Ebers, nor any other explorer has *proved* any other to have been where he has placed it. Their Marahs, Elims, Horebs, Hazeroths, etc., are as yet but conjecture! A statement sweeping but true. Besides, all their identifications — like the maps in our Bibles — are inconsistent with *Numbers* xxxiii. and with the Chronology. To the learning and sagacity of the venerable Heinrich Graetz, Professor in the University at Breslau, we are indebted for certain identifications, which flash light through all the obscurity, which at once remove all difficulty.

I. The scene of that great event, known as the "Passage of the Hebrews through the Red Sea." His solution of that ancient and perplexing problem was first published in book form in 1872. Its only presentation

in English was written in the spring of 1881, and published at Andover in the spring of 1883, under the title, *The Hebrews and the Red Sea*.^{*} It was (too hastily) written to meet the supposed necessity of contravening the Richter-Schleiden hypothesis, just before published in Boston, as accepted and enforced by the great Egyptologist Brugsch.[†] The years that have since elapsed have exposed divers crudities and mistakes in it, which, however, in no way affect the force of Graetz's argument, and, on the other hand, have added new and weighty additions to that argument. Mr. Naville's discovery of Pithom, as predicted in it [p. 71], is one. Another is the testimony of Strabo, found when verifying another citation, that the waters of the Yam Suph, formerly salt, were made fresh by the Nile waters of Necho's canal. Other new facts and considerations tend to prove the correctness of the novel explanation of Herodotus's description of that canal [pp. 70, 71]. For instance, according to Fürst's lexicon, the word Bira, or Birah (found only in the Hebrew text of *Chronicles*, *Nehemiah*, *Esther*, and *Daniel*, and written by the Septuagint and Josephus, Baris), is Persian, and signified originally a castle or fortress. Brugsch states positively that Etham is the Egyptian Chetam, or Khetam, also a fortress. The inference is that the Bira of the Darian canal inscription[‡] is the Etham of Exodus. This disposes of the untenable suggestion, that Bira may have been Pi-Her,[§] and supports the view, that the continuation of the Necho canal by Darius extended from Etham at the head of the Yam Suph to the Mediterranean.

It is unfortunate that Mr. Naville did not see Graetz's essay before writing his report upon Pithom. He would have found his argument for making that place the Red Sea part of the ancient canal fully anticipated even to the citation from Herodotus, with the Wesseling emendation; and could hardly, in that case, have placed on his

^{*} See advertisement of this book in this number of the REVIEW.

[†] *The True Story of the Exodus of Israel*. By Francis H. Underwood. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1880.

[‡] See *Heb. and the Red Sea*, p. 69.

[§] *Ibid.*, p. 78.

map of the Wadi Tumilat, Migdol, Baal-zephon, and the line of the Hebrew march as they now appear upon it. Graetz's argument, as given and developed in *The Hebrews and the Red Sea*, is claimed to be conclusive on the point, that the crossing of the Yam Suph was North of what is now L. Timseh, and that it *could* not have been South of it. The influx from the canal would necessarily create a shoal to the North where was no outlet, and scour the channel to the South where there was. The Yam Suph of Moses' time, seven centuries later, was still the "Tongue of the Egyptian Sea" of Isaiah;* other three centuries, and it is the Red Sea or Arabian Gulf of Herodotus; and three to four more centuries pass before I find in the Greek and Latin writers any intimation that Isaiah's prophecy was fulfilled, and the Yam Suph had become a series of lakes. That any wind could have laid the channel bare South of the canal at the period of the Exodus is incredible. It is therefore submitted that Graetz's identification must stand.

II. Etham is already identified as probably a castle or fortress on or near the northeastern shore of that part of the "Tongue of the Egyptian Sea" which is now L. Balah. So long as that "Tongue" remained unchanged, the only entrance into Egypt from the East, by land, was by the narrow passage between it and the great wall of Sesostris, from Pelusium to the Nile. Tradition still preserves the memory of this isthmus in the name El Kantarah.† Mr. Naville says [p. 24]: "I believe, therefore, Etham to be the *region of Atuma*; the desert, which began at L. Timseh, and extended West and South of it near the Arabian Gulf." But is it certain that, at the time when the Hebrews "dwelt in Goshen, in the land of Rameses, in the best of the land," there was *any* desert West of the Yam Suph? The Pentateuch, as I read it, excludes the idea.

Mr. Naville [p. 24] translates Brugsch's version of a papyrus, which Mr. Underwood has given a little differently. The latter begins thus: "We have carried into effect the passage of the tribes of the Shasu from the

* *Isaiah* xi. 15.

† Captain Burton.

land of Aduma (Edom) through the fortress (Khetam) of Menephtah-Hotephimaat," etc. Now why had the nomads of Arabia to petition for leave to enter the lands of Rameses? Obviously because there was but this one narrow passage, and this was defended by a Bira, Chetam, Etham, or fortress at its entrance, on the edge of the desert, or wilderness, and which gave a local name to that part of the wilderness.

But why, except in connection with the Exodus, does the name Etham never occur in all the books of the Old Testament? Why is it only mentioned as the place where Moses "turned again" and retraced his steps, after having led his people across the isthmus to the edge of the desert?

This is easily explained. The wall of Sesostris bordered this isthmus. All caravan routes from the East, except such as may have led to Pelusium, converged to this point. "Wall" in Hebrew is "Shur," and the custom obtained of designating this point as Shur; there were many Khetams perhaps, but only one Shur. Hagar sat by the fountain (Elim?) in the way to Shur. Abraham dwelt between Kadesh and Shur, and so on.

It is submitted, therefore, that the identifications of Etham and Pi-hahiroth in *The Hebrews and the Red Sea* must stand — the former as against Mr. Naville's opinion, the latter as being sustained by him in his discussion of Pikeheret [p. 26].

The point of departure, then, into the West of Etham was somewhere between lakes Balah and Timseh, and from 50 to 60 miles north of Suez, increasing the distance by this amount to the Sinai of the maps.

Take now a chart of the Suez Canal, or any map of Egypt large enough for the purpose, and mark upon it an outline of the Yam Suph (or Tongue of the Egyptian Sea). The freshwater canal from the Nile to Ismailia represents the canal of Necho. Mark also the point of crossing between L. Timseh and L. Balah, and Etham on L. Balah, as above determined. Consider now that the point of the crossing, opposite Pi-hahiroth, is the fifth station, Rameses being the first; that from

his fifth station the route to Sinai (N. B., the *traditional* Sinai) is, first, along the coast 150 miles by measurement,— every complete map has its scale of miles,— and, second, 30 to 50 miles through mountain defiles,— this distance depending upon whose Sinai be accepted, that of Robinson, Lepsius, Ebers, or others. Observe that in these measurements no allowance is made for turnings and windings, for ascents and descents, or for obstacles of any sort. Now glance through the 16, 17, and 18 chapters of *Exodus*, and refresh the memory of the transactions therein recorded. And all these marches and transactions covered but a period of two months, from 15 Nisan to 15 Sivan!

Credat Judæus Apella, non ego.

But there is still another difficulty which seems to have escaped notice. Herodotus relates that Necho ceased the construction of the canal "in the middle of the work" because of the oracle, that "he was working for a barbarian." How so? Simply because a canal to the Mediterranean opened a way into the heart of Egypt to any superior naval force. Hence Darius, having conquered Egypt, finished the canal to secure its possession. Not long since Wolseley's invasion has proved the sagacity of that oracle.

"But Necho," continues Herodotus, "having ceased his excavation, turned his attention to military affairs; and triremes were constructed, some on the Northern Sea and others in the Arabian Gulf, or Red Sea, of which the docks are still to be seen. These he used as he had occasion," etc. In another place he records the expedition sent out by Necho, that circumnavigated Africa. The activity of ante-Mosaic Egyptian sovereigns in the Red Sea and its gulfs and on their shores is amply demonstrated by Egyptologists and by Captain Burton and other explorers. Fortresses with strong garrisons and powerful fleets protected their commercial and mining interests. Admitting the total destruction of the reigning Pharaoh and the army which he led in the Lam Suph, this in no way diminished the naval and military strength of the sea and coasts below. And yet

Moses tranquilly marched along these coasts and arrived at Horeb on the sixtieth day from Rameses! So say the Bible. Which is wrong, the Bible or the maps that disgrace it?

III. This much is now manifest, that the 33 chapters of *Numbers* can never be vindicated so long as Horeb is sought among the traditional Sinais. But draw a line about two degrees of latitude in extent, a little East of North from these Sinais, and mark a Horeb there. Now the route — making a great southerly curve to avoid the mountain ranges — is from the Yam Suph to a point nearly due East, and only about two degrees of longitude distant. This route takes the Hebrews immediately away from the coast, avoids all its obstacles and dangers, and can easily be accomplished in two months. Consider now another matter of distances and journeys. Measure from Sinai to Midian, and note the rugged mountainous country through which the line passes. Let us grant that the recorded journeys of Moses and Aaron are not utterly incredible as being between *this* Sinai and *this* Midian. It can *not* be regarded as credible that Moses led Jethro's herds and flocks that way to that Sinai from that Midian, nor that 60 days from the 15 Nisan Jethro had heard of the movement of the Hebrews, and journeyed to Rephidim to meet them. In truth the difficulties in reconciling these accounts of journeys to and from the traditional Sinai with the times and spaces given are so great that the belief in them is a matter of faith, not reason; "the Bible says so!" — That is the point; *does* it?

Every well-informed Biblical student knows that the notion of the peninsular Sinai cannot be traced beyond the hermits and monks of the third and fourth centuries of our era; also that from *Genesis* to *Malachi* there is not a statement, suggestion, or remotest hint that effect, save the story of Elijah. He is the one prophet whose name is associated with that of Moses, and only second to him. However the Masoretic text may now read, it is self-evident that the point of the original narrative was not that the prophet was m

sly fed for a journey *to* Horeb, but that he, like es, might tarry *upon* it "there with the Lord forty and forty nights, and neither eat bread nor drink r." *

he place which we have marked as perhaps the true of Horeb — one that Elijah could easily reach com- from Beersheba — is near to and South of Kadesh. north of Kadesh were the Mountains of the Am- tes, of the Amorites, and of the Kenites. We , also, by comparing *Numbers* xiv. 45, with *Deu- omy* i. 44 (where the word "hormah" is not a r name, as in *Judges* i. 17, but signifies "destruc- "), that in this group was a Mt. Seir, — not to be unded with the great range of Seir, East of the ah. We know, too, that the wilderness of Paran s) extended South from Maon [1 *Samuel* xxv. 2], ncluded Kadesh and its neighborhood, the wilder- of Kadesh [*Psalms* xxix. 8].

- Paran, or the Mount of Paran, is doubtless a nation of Horeb; at all events, I find no objection ver to this, except the occurrence of both Seir and at Paran in *Deuteronomy* xxxiii. 2, which may al- certainly be taken to be an instance of the rhetor- or poetic duplication so very frequent in the poetry e Old Testament.

egeb, the South Country, was that strip of territory g the boundary of Judæa, including the group of ntains above named, which so long remained uncon- ed; but "timn" — taiman, or teman — signifies also th and South Country.† It was also the name of a of Edom; but why should the poets associate it the distant Horeb?

is readily admitted that the Hebrew writers nowhere expressly that Horeb was where we have hypothet- r placed it; for if it *was* there, only some 70 to 80 ; South of Jerusalem, it, like so many other moun- of Palestine, was too well known to need any record ; position.

Exodus xxxiv. 28.

Isaiah xliii. 4; *Exodus* xxvi. 18, 35, xxvii. 9; *Isaiah* xliii. 6; *Zechariah* vi. 6, and passages.

Finally, the Biblical Midian included so much of what the Arabs to this day name the "Desert of the Wanderings" (Et Tih), as extended West from the Arabah to the wilderness of Paran.

We are now ready to examine a few passages in the Hebrew poets, of which the wonders of Horeb, related in the 19 chapter of *Exodus*, are the subject: keeping in mind that in all the versions of the Bible in modern languages, whatever bears upon this investigation has been translated under the bias of a belief in the traditional Sinai causing errors; such as, for an instance, "by the way of Mt. Seir," instead of "on the way to" it.

And Miriam and Aaron spake against Moses because of the Ethiopian woman whom he had married: for he had married (Heb. "taken") an Ethiopian woman.

Luther's translation makes the offence, "because that he had taken a negress (Mohrin). The English version softens it to Ethiopian. Its late revisers write "Cushite," and leave the reader to guess what it means. The commentaries on the verse are very various and amusing: Zipporah was dead, and Moses, now 80 years old, had taken another wife; Moses had discarded Zipporah and married again; Zipporah was still living, yet Moses had espoused another, or taken, perhaps, a concubine! etc., etc. All this is very like nonsense.

Jethro was a sheik of Midian, but he was by descent a Kenite [*Judges* i. 16], and therefore his son Hobab is only known as a Kenite. All difficulty in the above text is removed if the Hebrew word translated Cushite be amended by the insertion of the letter "nun." Zipporah becomes a Cushanite as her father was.

Now turn to *Habakkuk* iii. and read the description of the Deity's appearing upon the Mount of the Law, written with that magnificent audacity of the poetic frenzy which makes *Psalms* xviii. so sublime:—

God came from Teman (the South),
And the Holy One from Mount Paran.

I saw the tents of Cushan in affliction,
And the curtains of the land of Midian did tremble.

The picture was drawn by a poet who knew the topography of the region; the quakings and commotions of Horeb wrought distress in the nomads' tents near Cushan, a part of Midian, and even shook the tent curtains of the more distant parts. In this noble burst of poetry the South country, whence Jethro came, Cushan his own land * and Midian are closely associated topographically.

Let us now look at *Deuteronomy* xxxiii. 2 : —

The LORD came from Sinai, and rose up from Seir unto them; He issued forth from Mount Paran, and he came with ten thousands of saints: from his right hand *went* a fiery law for them.

Here Seir is associated with Horeb, and Mt. Paran with — what? Where is the parallelism of Hebrew poetry — if this chapter be poetry? The words, “with myriads of saints,” do not give it. The words thus translated are, omitting the modern points, *mrbbth kdsh*, which Graetz declares “give no sense at all.” Besides, if here translated, they are a literary anachronism and have no warrant in anything related in the 19 chapter of *Exodus*. But amend the first to *mrbbh* and we have the Meribah-Kadesh of ver. 51 of the preceding chapter; and now, as Sinai-Horeb is associated with Mt. Seir so Mt. Paran-Horeb is with Kadesh.

Other passages, in the *Psalms* and elsewhere, if translated unbiased by the traditionary Sinai, accord fully with these. The above is, however, sufficient for our purpose.

Graetz has discussed this topic with his usual learning, ability, and skill in an essay printed in 1878, both exhaustive and conclusive, and demonstrates that the true Horeb was near Kadesh.

IV. By comparing the notices of the death of Aaron in *Numbers* xx. and xxxiii. with that in the two misplaced verses in *Deuteronomy* x. 6, 7, Moseroth and Mt. Hor are found to be but one and the same station; and this investigation will later confirm the identity of the traditional Hor on the East side of the vale of Arabah.

* *Exodus* xviii. 27.

Five stations are now identified and their positions known as nearly as can be hoped until thorough surveys of those regions shall be possible. They occur in the register in this order: 1. The Yam Suph, ver. 8; 2. Sinai Horeb, ver. 15; 3. Moseroth-Hor, ver. 31; 4. Ezion-gaber, ver. 35; 5. Kadesh, ver. 37. It is very perplexing to find the name Kadesh first occurring here after Ezion-gaber. It is clear that there is an error or omission. The movements recorded in previous chapters were: West of Sinai to West of Paran [*Numbers* x. 12]; thence to Hazeroth [*Ibid.*, xi. 35]; thence to West of Paran at Kadesh [*Ibid.*, xii. 16, and xiii. 26]; thence into the wilderness on the way to (not by the way of) the Yam Suph, or Gulf of Akabah at Ezion-gaber [*Ibid.*, xiv. 25]. The error is simply one of omission; the word Kadesh is wanting in ver. 25.

The first two verses of *Deuteronomy* are misplaced; they belong to *Numbers*; the second of them is a note, perhaps written by the original compiler to remove just this perplexity. Eleven stations, Horeb to Kadesh-Barnea, going towards Seir. Count these stations, beginning with Sinai [ver. 15], and the eleventh is Makheloth [ver. 25]. This word means "congregatings," "gatherings-together," and the first verses of *Numbers* xx. show why the epithet was applied to Kadesh. One should read, therefore, Makheloth-Kadesh, as elsewhere Meribah-Kadesh and Kadesh-Barnea.

Thus the last serious obstacle to a rational vindication of our chapter is removed; although it is freely conceded that a great variety of objections remain to be met, and many new views of the character and condition of the emigrants to be established, to render the vindication complete. But this would far exceed the limits of a periodical, and what follows, therefore, is necessarily but an outline.

The Tongue of the Egyptian Sea is destroyed, and the seven streams of the Nile Delta have been in part so smitten that men go over dry shod, as predicted by Isaiah; but the great natural features of the region about Kadesh are unchanged. The mountain ranges,

valleys, gorges, and passes remain as when the armies, caravans, nomads, travellers, and fugitives of the Old Testament narratives traversed them. Kadesh itself is not to be considered as a city or town, but as a broad valley, or rather the *nodus* of several converging valleys, so extensive and rich in herbage and water as to sustain the vast body of the Hebrews through long series of years. The name, signifying "holy," "sacred," was probably derived from an ancient seat of idolatry at Ain Mishpat, Springs of Judgment [*Genesis* xiv. 7] the Ain Meribah, Waters of Strife, of Moses.

Easterly from Kadesh extended a practicable caravan route to the Arabah and the Dead Sea; northerly the great valley by which Moses originally intended to invade Palestine; and northwesterly, that to southwestern Judæa, Elijah's road to Horeb. South of Kadesh it is known that a broad valley curved away towards the West; it was that where Abraham "dwelled between Kadesh and Shur;" that of the great caravan road "as thou goest to Shur." From this valley, somewhere South of Horeb, another, following probably an affluent of El Arisch, the River of Egypt, extended southwest across Et Tih, to the pass that leads down to the head of the Gulf of Akabah. This much is certain, alike from Hebrew, Greek, and Latin writers; but no accurate chart can be drawn until careful surveys shall have been made. For reasons that would take too much space here, the Kadesh-Shur road was as well known to a large number of Hebrews as to Moses and Aaron, who had traversed it. They knew the distance to the first affluent of El Arisch, and the sources of water supplies on the way thither. How the popular notion obtained, that the Hebrews came out of Egypt, a vast horde of ignorant, poverty-stricken, broken-spirited fugitive slaves, blindly following a leader, who was but the passive instrument of a continuous miracle, it is not easy to conceive. It is probably the result of centuries of teaching and preaching, that have represented the whole movement from Rameses to the Jordan as one long supernatural wonder; that have augmented the supersti-

tion of the ignorant, while exciting the contempt of the scholar and the ridicule of the sceptic. The narrative everywhere shows the contrary. The children of Israel came out "harnessed," armed; marched by their armies, that is, each tribe by itself and with its own military array; under wise and sagacious leaders, whose names after the new arrangement of the camps, thirteen months later, are all recorded. It was throughout a military movement, though encumbered with myriads of non-combatants; and every advance, in whatever direction, had its object and purpose. Of aimless wandering in the wildernesses there is nowhere a trace or hint.

We are now ready to resume the narrative where it ceases in *The Hebrews and the Red Sea*, viz., on the eastern shore of the Yam Suph, and to follow the marches as recorded in the chapter under investigation. Taking provision of water for the forced march, the emigrants struck out for the great Kadesh-Shur road, "and went three days' journey in the wilderness of Etham, and pitched in Marah [ver. 8.] Knowing that the water there was brackish, Moses had provided the means of rendering it potable, so that his people could push on to Elim [ver. 9], where were "twelve wells of water." Marah was probably on the Kadesh-Shur road; Elim certainly was. Fifteen centuries later, Strabo's friend, Ælius Gallus, returning from the invasion of Arabia Petrea, encamped in this oasis, then known as the "Eleven Springs." * And they removed from Elim and encamped by the Red Sea [ver. 10]. This is indeed at first view a perplexing enigma, and yet has an obvious solution. The twelve springs doubtless furnished an adequate supply to caravans, both for present need and for the journey to El Arisch; but not for so vast a multitude as was there. The course thus far had necessarily been southeasterly; the Yam Suph makes a great bend to the East below Timseh; a forced march southerly or southwesterly therefore brought the camp near enough to be sup-

* An English translation reads, "Seven Springs." If this be the more correct reading, it does not render the identity of Elim doubtful. Virgil's *Timanus* near Trieste, which roared through nine mouths, bursting from its underground channel, now rushes out tamely through three.

plied from its Nile-freshened waters for the distance to El Arisch.

The points at which halts were made thence to the West of Sin — so called from its limestone cliffs — were of no historical interest, even if they had names, and are omitted from the record.

Leaving this wilderness, the march is up the valley towards Kadesh, with encampments at Dophkah, Alush, and finally on the waterless plateau of Rephidim — the Plains [ver. 12–14]. This station, which may perhaps yet be identified, was so near the mountain ridge of Horeb that Moses supplied the camp with water from its rocks, and so near Kadesh, that the Amalekites attacked the van of the camp, getting the worst of it, however, in their raid. Eighty years ago Seetzen described this region as one of broken limestone and sandy plains, diversified by bare chalk hills, all utterly barren, destitute of trees, shrubs, and green spots, except in the vales drained by the affluents of El Arisch. As the Israelites approached it from the West on their way to Dophkah — place of “cattle driving,” a name perhaps as ancient as Abraham’s sojourn there — the ridge of Horeb — Hebrew, Choreb, waste, desolate — must have been a conspicuous and very grand object away in the East, and may well have been distinguished in later times as *the* Mount of Paran. By a necessary inference from divers passages in the narrative, it did not border the valley in which Dophkah lay, but that which led away Southeast towards Ezion-gaber; so that Dophkah, Rephidim, and the southern extremity of the mountain formed a triangle, with Rephidim at the northern angle.

Every rood of this district, the West of Sinai, was known to Moses, who not so very long since had made these valleys the grazing grounds of the Cushanite Sheik, Jethro. The great leader is still true to the design of invading Palestine *via* Kadesh; but just now there is bad blood between his people and the Amalekites; he desires to get peaceful possession of Kadesh; but above all he will not undertake military operations until the new Constitution and Code have been promulgated and the

princes and people most solemnly bound to obey them. Therefore, instead of pushing forward, he turns abruptly to the right, moves along the foot of the Horeb ridge, and establishes his headquarters in front of its great southern bluff, where the valleys below supply ample pasturage and water for the year of the sojourn there. The Constitution was established; the Code promulgated; the permanent military orders for the future marches were issued and on the 20 of the second month (Zif or Ijar) in the second year [*Numbers* x. 11] the children of Israel removed from the desert of Sinai, and pitched at Kibroth-hattaavah. And they departed from Kibroth-hattaavah, and encamped at Hazeroth [*Jeremiah* xxxiii. 16, 17]. By a simple process of reasoning, but which would occupy too much space here, it is proved that this movement in the West of Paran was along the route to the pass near Ezion-gaber. By moving in this direction several important objects were attained; all suspicions on the part of the peoples of the Negeb, that Moses still had Kadesh in view, were allayed; time was gained to get the new Constitution, Code, and administration into working order; the army, so long now at rest, could be disciplined and hardened, and the new ritual would become familiar to all. At Hazeroth (the Enclosures), where "they abode" and the trouble on Zipporah's account occurred, Moses turned from the caravan route and led his people northerly, "pitching" in Et Tih at Rithmah, Camp of the Broomplant [ver. 18], Rimmon-Parez, Camp of the Pomegranate ravine [19], at Libnah, Camp of the Incensetrees [20], at Rissah, Camp of the Heaps of Ruins [21], at Kehelathah, Camp of the Assembling [22], at Mount Shapher, the Beautiful Mountain [23], and at Haradah, Camp of the place of Terror [24]. It was a remarkably successful military movement; for, here at the tenth station, the Hebrews suddenly emerged from the solitudes of the desert, descended upon Mapheloth-Kadesh, and occupied it without opposition. We can form some notion of the time employed in it. The 20 Ijar corresponded last year — 1885 — to the 5 May; the so-called Spies were sent from

Kadesh at "the time of the first ripe grapes" [*Numbers* xiii. 20]; and this gives ample but not too much time, between two and three months, for the transactions recorded in the xi. and xii. chapters of *Numbers*, and the march of from 30 to 40 miles across Et Tih.

As the purpose of this article is but to show that, through the identification of the scenes of the two great events, the passage of the Yam Suph and the delivery of the Law, the register of encampments can be vindicated, there is no call here to discuss the events recorded in other chapters as having occurred at Kadesh; nor to endeavor to reconcile certain discrepancies as to their time and place, which appear in *Exodus* and *Numbers*. Were there two miracles of smiting the rock for water? Two in the supply of quails? One of each before and another after the delivery of the Law? Such questions do not affect the present inquiry, and their consideration would be out of place. The stay at Kadesh was protracted [*Deuteronomy* i. 46]; an ancient talmudic authority makes it 19 years. At its close, the route taken was that which led into the vale of the Arabah, for the fifth station is Moseroth or Mt. Hor. The stations which follow [ver. 31-35] are all in that great valley, — Ezion-gaber, the last, being Solomon's seaport on the Gulf of Akabah.

The stations throughout are, of course, the sites of the headquarters of the commander-in-chief; and the actual advance made between points, the distance of which from each other can be approximately estimated even on the defective maps which we possess, corresponds remarkably to the progress, which such a multitude could make, allowance being given for the character of the country traversed. From the West of Sin to Rephidim, a little East of North, it was a valley road, and some eight miles a day can be granted; from Rephidim to Horeb and thence to Hazeroth, Southeast, also through valleys, about the same; thence across Et Tih, Northwest, certainly not more than six; from Kadesh easterly into the vale of the Arabah, a mountainous route, also about six; down the Arabah, southwest, through a broad

smooth valley ten could easily be made. Thus, all the marches from the West of Sin to Ezion-gaber are brought within the limits which our maps accord them, and — what is well to be noted — no superfluous space is left for unrecorded stations. It follows, then, that the 33 chapter of *Numbers*, at least from ver. 12 to ver. 35, is fairly vindicated as a correct and complete historic register of the marches. "And they removed from Ezion-gaber, and pitched in the wilderness of Zin, which is Kadesh" [ver. 36]. This return to Kadesh being, of course, over the same road, there was no necessity of naming the stations in reverse order, and they are omitted.

After another long stay in Kadesh, during which the project of invading Palestine thence was abandoned, the Hebrews moved again into the Arabah so far as Mt. Hor. To mention the stations between was also needless. "And they departed from mount Hor, and pitched in Zalmonah" [ver. 41]. Here the record is defective. We know from it neither where Zalmonah was situated, nor the route to it. But elsewhere we learn, that the advance from Mt. Hor was towards the Gulf of Akabah [*Numbers* xxi. 4], because Edom had refused to grant a passage through that wonderful *cañon* in which are the ruins of Petra. The defect is remedied by the two misplaced verses, *Deuteronomy*, x. 6, 7. The Hebrews moved down to the second station above Ezion-gaber, Jotbath, some 20 miles distant from it. There they turned East up a pass that ascends about 1,000 feet, and is used in our day by the eastern Hadji. Fürst suggests that the name Zalmonah may have been derived from *slm*, the word translated in the English version of *Genesis* xxviii. 12 (Jacob's) ladder. If so, it indicates a place approached by a mountain pass, and confirms Burckhardt and others, who identify it with Maan, or Alam Maan, a place well supplied with springs, on the Hadji road, at the eastern foot of the Seir range.

From Zalmonah to the Jordan there is no doubt nor question as to the route.

The reader has perhaps observed that, the canal of

Necho and the wall of Sesostris excepted, the argument for the foregoing itinerary is exclusively drawn from the Hebrew writers. *They* give us (1.) Pithom, the eastern port of the canal, as a store city built by their ancestors; (2.) the Yam Suph, sea of freshwater plants, Tongue of the Egyptian Sea; (3.) the name Shur, for the passage El Kantarah; (4.) the great caravan route Kadesh-Shur; (5.) the true Horeb, the key to all subsequent movements; (6.) the five stations Makheloth to Moseroth, which prove that Kadesh was farther West than certain quite recent charts place it, and it is just this more westerly position of Kadesh that gives space between the Shur road and the Arabah, for the eleven stations, Horeb to Kadesh.

It was not until all the decisive points in this itinerary were settled in the writer's mind that he obtained the work of Palmer and Drake, and could compare the results obtained from study of the Hebrew books with the map of these explorers. The comparison proved in the highest degree satisfactory. It is the Jebel Araif of their map that Professor Graetz identifies with Horeb.

The full discussion of the itinerary, above outlined, would fill a small volume. It must meet a host of objections, for long-rooted beliefs and prejudices die hard. It involves many — for the general public — entirely new views of the character and condition of the Hebrews at that period. It must include also a great variety of matter drawn from, or based on, the noble labors of Graetz and his co-workers during the last twenty-five years, to the end of elucidating the history of the Jews and of critically revising and amending the Masoretic text. Whether there is sufficient public interest in the topic to warrant the publication of such a work is perhaps questionable.

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CHRISTIANITY AND PHILOSOPHY IN MODERN THOUGHT.

The Continuity of Christian Thought: a Study of Modern Theology in the Light of its History. By the
Rev. A. V. G. ALLEN, D. D. Boston: Houghton,
Mifflin & Co. 1885.

“CAN ye not discern the signs of the times?” By this simple question, our LORD rebuked the blindness of His hearers. It was a home-thrust, both facile and trenchant. It was so, however, simply because it was an appeal to the insight of the reason. It is the province of reason to look through phenomena to the underlying substance, or through the world's surface-signs, to descry the hidden drift and power of its great undercurrents. This, according to our LORD's judgment, the Jewish leaders were able to do, and were blameworthy for neglecting. Of the Christian leader, not less of this penetration and forecast is demanded. It is the aim of Christianity to clarify the reason, no less than to cleanse the heart. Freed by the inner working of the Divine Spirit from biasing and beclouding sense, the sanctified reason should be capable of a keener insight and a clearer forecast. They are necessary, if the champion of the truth is to be effectively forewarned of the dangers which gather about the Church from the adverse working of the world's thought,—snares which are woven about her, under the craft of the adversary; storms which are to burst upon her, from the passions of men.

In the exercise of this rational comprehension and forecast, the Christian thinker should bear in mind that every age has its peculiar hostile characteristics. Among

the most striking of these are its special attitude toward the truth, and its method of assailing it. These change with every distinct advance in the ages from savagery toward civilisation. Whenever and wherever idolatry and barbarism have prevailed, Christianity and the Church have been met by open hostility and violence. For a time, at least, — how long we know not, — all that is past. Under the growth of Christian civilisation with its adventurous thought and advancement in science and art, the method of anti-christian error has been changed as well as chastened. But though milder, it is none the less malignant. The bold defiance and the daring assault have only given place to the crafty flag-of-truce and the covert mine; to the alien and false alliance, and to treacherous tampering with the garrison. The policy of the *Zeit Geist* is not violence, but artifice; not overthrow, but subversion. In other words, it is now the master art of the adversary, to turn against Christianity through her professed friends, the very progress which she herself has created; the very skill, learning, and philosophy, which owe their being, breadth, and power to her insight and inspiration. The times fulfil with startling aptness and force, the prophecy of our LORD, "A man's foes shall be they of his own house." Hence, it is now no open array of infidel encyclopædiasts, that thunders at our gates; but rather the trusted warder or guardsman, who parleys with the enemy, and through some unheeded postern introduces him, under fair disguise, into the very heart of the citadel. We have not now to repel the brutal assaults of a Voltaire or a Paine; but rather to countermine against the sceptical speculations of professedly Christian thinkers.

The two great, subversive evils which the Church has to encounter at the present time — alike unchristian and anti-christian — are *secularism*, or worldly conformity; and *rationalism*, or philosophical compromise. The former is the most native, insidious, and wide-spread. It is to some extent even parent to the other. Hence it is the most dangerous and the most pressing in its need for counteraction. But as it concerns the preacher

and the people in their practical living, and is an ample theme by itself, its discussion must be waived for the present. Our attention, here, must be directed to the other evil, or to the attitude and movements of "Modern Thought," or modern philosophy, with regard to Christian theology and the Catholic Faith. The discussion of the subject will, in some part, hinge upon the character of certain philosophico-theological works, which are at present, to a greater or less degree, attracting the attention of clerical thinkers.

"Modern Thought," in its philosophical field of operations against Christianity and the Catholic Faith, has, as it were, entrenched itself in a sort of "quadrilateral," the complete *enceinte* sweeping around from a materialistic atheism, which evicts GOD from the universe by thrusting nature or matter into His place, to a transcendental pantheism, which quite as effectively, but through an idealistic subtlety, discharges the universe of GOD, by resolving Him into a universal thought or will, immanent in all things; not transcending them. Its four strongholds at the several angles, however, are certain forms of *Materialism*, *Evolutionism*, *Idealism*, and *Rationalism*. Two of these, *Evolutionism* and *Rationalism*, are, at the present time, the more aggressive and violent. Transcendental idealism is the more subtle and dangerous. The four, however, are really included in two leading systems, *Sensationalism*, or *Experientialism*, and *Pure Rationalism*, or *German Transcendentalism*. The former holds to the doctrine of knowledge through experience only, or the knowledge of things simply as they appear in the sense and the understanding. The latter makes the reason, as the intuitive faculty, both dominant in the human mind and transcendent over experience; it is *self-conscious*, as well as conscious of the experience; and in its own insight knows and reveals the ground, nature, and philosophy of the experience. Both are, nevertheless, substantially agreed in excluding the *Supernatural*, or whatever is above and beyond nature, from the field of human knowledge; the one by having *none*, and the other by having it *unknown*.

Of these four schemes, *Materialism* — both the cosmical, which makes nature or the cosmos a sort of blind, necessitated mechanism, of which matter is the origin and substance, and the psychological, which resolves all thinking into mere cerebration, and makes mind a functional secretion of the brain—is so flatly opposed to the universal consciousness of mankind, and to the ground principles of all religion both natural and revealed, that it may be practically counted out of the present discussion. It is too weak to overthrow Christianity; it is too gross and repugnant to be engrafted into it. They are too irreconcilable to allow of either fusion or alliance.

With evolutionism the case is different. In neither of its phases is it favorable to revealed religion; in one it is subversive. Cosmic evolutionism, or the doctrine of the evolution of the higher organisation from the lower under the influence of environment, natural selection, and the survival of the fittest, either ultimately coincides with materialism, or diverges from it, only in conceding the possible existence of a Creator back of and for the *first* substance, form, and movement, in which the universal march of evolution began. In the latter case, while it may plausibly sustain some rationalistic form of Theism, and may even put on Christian airs, it has no place for a revelation and the Incarnation, as they are held by Christianity and the Catholic Church. To find any recognition in its scheme, these cardinal facts in theology and the Catholic Faith, must be philosophically transformed so that no traces of the supernatural shall appear in them. In other words, they must be reconstructed in harmony with "Modern Thought." Religious or theologic evolution naturally follows in the train of cosmic evolution, but with a sharper antagonism to Christianity: forecast, comprehensiveness, unity, must be predicated of the Divine plan in the creation. If, then, the law of cosmical being and movement be evolution, why not, also, the law of human society and its institutions? If man himself be an evolution from the anthropoid ape, as that may be from a batrachian,

and this, perhaps, from the forked mandragora, then why not marriage and government and religion; the incarnation, Christianity, and the Holy Sacraments, mere evolutions, and not Divine institutions? Hence, according to the theologic evolutionist, *Judaism* — or, as it is their fancy to style it, *Mosaism* — was simply a spontaneous evolution, under the influence of that sub-creator *environment*, from some lower form, patriarchal or pagan; Christianity is, again, a higher evolution from that, and, for aught we know, the religion of the future will be an evolved advancement from that. Speaking more definitely, and following in substance the theory of Dr. Kuenen, set forth in his *Religion of Israel to the Fall of the Jewish State*, a work which might have been called *The Historic Evolution of Mosaism*, we are to suppose that the Israelites were originally fetichists, and from that passed to a form of polytheism, worshipping *Jahveh* as one among a plurality of gods. During the Sinaitic period an advance was made when Moses, who may have been a monotheist, set up *Jahveh* as preëminently the “tribal god,” and put forth in some rudimentary shape what were afterwards formulated as the “Ten Commandments,” thus connecting the religious idea with the moral life of the nation. During the period of the Judges, the people, as struggling to become, either as agriculturists or herdsmen, fixed occupants of the soil, and forced into greater coherence by a formidable environment of war and extermination, made under the leading of the Prophetic Order a distinct advance. The idea of a common national existence was evolved, and with it the monarchical idea, out of which duly came the monotheistic idea, *Jahveh* becoming at once the national divinity and the one only true God for all nations. Later, under the monarchy, arose a struggle for existence or preëminence between the Prophetic and the Priestly Orders, the latter prevailing under the law of “the survival of the fittest,” and assisting in the evolution of the Law with its blending of the civil and religious, the ethical and the ritual. This most pregnant comprehension and compromise was — rather to the confounding of our

faith in Mosaic morality — brought into acceptance and sudden authority by the art of the Priesthood in laying the draft of the scheme before King Josiah as a long lost, but accidentally recovered, copy of the writings of their great traditional Law-giver, *Moses*. Following out the theory, the effect of the destruction of the nation and the Babylonish captivity was to evolve from the sufferings, the desires, and the hopes of the people, the idea of a Messiah and a Messianic deliverance and re-establishment. Finally, when JESUS had come, and in so many ways personally realised the idea of the Messiah, but failed to reëstablish the kingdom, nothing would be more natural than the evolution, in the minds of His chosen followers and the Apostolic Church, of the idea of a purely spiritual kingdom, whose bounds should be coincident with the limits of the human race.

This scheme has no place for the supernatural. It reduces religion wholly to the level of the natural, — we might rather say, destroys it altogether; for under any proper definition of religion it goes without the saying, that there is no more a religion without the Supernatural, than a philosophy without a Nature. It also changes all the primary means and Divine institutions of religion into mere evolutions or developments, — growths, transformations, *artifices*. Hence, Divine inspiration becomes simply the enthusiasm of genius, inspired by its environment; a Divine revelation turns out to be a mere popular superstition or a politic artifice of the Priesthood; miracles become either the credulous fancies of the people, or legendary exaggerations of facts; prophecy, where it is not a mere simulated prediction of events already historic, is mere rational forecast or successful guessing. Thus, from both Judaism and Christianity are swept away all claim to a direct Divine origin and authority.

If more were needed to show how utterly subversive this scheme is of the Catholic Faith, it is only necessary to note the fact that it has no place whatever for the Incarnation. The Blessed Virgin Mary can be nothing more than a survival of the fittest, and an evolution, under a favorable environment, of the perfect woman. Our

Blessed LORD Himself is, in like manner, only an evolution of the perfect man, there being in Him no distinct Divine entity, unless the alleged Divinity in Him was itself a riper, or, perhaps, consummate evolution of a primitive Divine principle in man himself. Perhaps even the whole story of the CHRIST may be nothing more than an evolution of some ancient solar myth. Yet this is substantially the scheme as advocated by Kuenen, Kalsch, Colenso, Robertson Smith, and others.

Notwithstanding, then, later Evolutionism may plausibly disclaim any sceptical predilections, it certainly becomes the clergy of the Church to look very sharply into its nature, tendencies, and ultimate outcome, before they allow it any place in their philosophy or theology. Two things alone ought with them to serve as a bar to its acceptance, the first, that it is yet without proper scientific proof for any of its leading postulates, and the second, that to be consistent, it must be evolution for the rational spirit of man no less than for his physical organisation, the several steps being substantially these: rational mind, an evolution from the mere sense intellect in man; that, an evolution from the lower animal, sense intelligence; that, again, an evolution from the instinct of the worm and the reptile; that, an evolution from mere plant sensitiveness; that, still farther back, an evolution from some higher form of activity in inorganic matter, perhaps crystallisation; and, through different stages, that, an evolution from primal matter, that is to say, *mind and matter originally one and the same*, — dense materialism the whole of it! The only thing needed to crown its folly and presumption is this, that it should carry out the scheme and assume God Himself to be not the beginning, but the end of the series of movements; primal matter in evolutionary potentiality being the only First Cause, and God being, in the far-off future, simply the consummate evolution of a perfect spirit from the last and highest advance, or the fittest survival, of finite mind.

Turning now to *Transcendentalism*, it is to be noted that the term must be understood here in a restricted sense, as representative of the *Spurious* (or Defaulting)

Transcendentalism of the German Idealists. The term transcendental is philosophically opposed to empirical or experiential. An empirical philosophy recognises no such thing as a knowledge outside of experience. All that can be known must be known through the sense and the understanding in the experience. Transcendental philosophy claims that the reason, as the faculty for intuition, is superior to both the sense and the understanding, and supplies a knowledge that transcends experience. It is the prime function of the reason to supply by intuitive cognition those primary, self-evident, universal truths which transcend the facts of experience, determine how they must be if they are to be, and makes an explanation or philosophy of them possible, when they are. These primary or fundamental truths, while they enter into experience, are not of, or from, experience, but are *a priori* to it, and so condition, or determine it. They are thus transcendental; and the reason is their seer and prophet. Through it and them only is it possible to have in human knowledge, science, art, and philosophy.

It is the chief merit of the German Transcendentalists that, alike in the Subjective-Objective Idealism of Kant; the absolute subjective Idealism of Fichte; and the Idealistic Identityism of Hegel's all embracing and all-producing logic, this grand, transcendental function of the reason has been clearly discriminated and established. Whatever errors of their own may have attended it; this achievement was the rescue of philosophy from the thralldom of both bald Materialism and equivocating Empiricism. But it was the misfortune of German Transcendentalism, that as a violent reaction, under the most prejudicial religious influences, from the materialising sensationalism of Locke, it stopped short of true transcendentalism. Nature and philosophy might find a ground in the reason; but not the Supernatural and religion. The reason was freely allowed to transcend experience, but not nature. Of nature, man might have some knowledge; of the Supernatural, he was magnanimously permitted to believe much,—religion being

highly useful as a regulative element in society; but as for anything more, it was simply the Unknowable. Hence, there was no proper place in their philosophy for revealed religion and the true God, at once personal and transcendent. With *Kant*, the idea of God is only a regulative principle of the reason; according to *Fichte*, the moral order of the world is the only god; and to *Hegel*, if he is or can be rightly understood, "God is not a person, but personality itself; *i. e.*, the universal personality which realises itself in every human consciousness as so many separate thoughts of an eternal mind." "Out of the world, therefore, there is no God; and so also apart from the universal consciousness of man there is no Divine consciousness or personality." God is, in fact, simply the complete process of thought, according to the Hegelian logic; "a process ever going on, but never accomplished; nay, the Divine consciousness is absolutely one with the advancing consciousness of mankind." [*Morell*, 473, 477.] This is simply *Idealistic Pantheism*,—a form of scepticism underlying the thought of writers who, like *Royce* in his *Religious Aspect of Philosophy*, betray no knowledge of any Deity save only the universal thought or universal Will; and substantially involving the doctrine of the "Immanence of God," as vigorously advocated by Professor Allen in his *Continuity of Christian Thought*, and Professor Fiske in his *Idea of God as affected by Modern Knowledge*,—the latter, by the way, being at once a pronounced Evolutionist, and a delighted endorser of Professor Allen's *Immanencism*. This is, of itself, enough to show how much the growing attention now bestowed on Hegel, or rather a transmuted Hegelism, and the disposition of a certain class of philosophising thinkers in the Church to introduce more or less of his philosophy into their theological speculations, must be deprecated. How aggressive this tendency is, may be seen from Professor Allen's simple category of favorite thinkers; *first*, Clement of Alexandria; then *Schleiermacher*, who closely resembles Clement, "both in his general attitude and in the principles he set forth" [p. 429]; then *HEGEL*, "*Schleier-*

macher's successor in order of thought," Hegel, who, according to Professor Allen, "stands for the restoration of the Athanasian or Nicene formula, as having its ground in the reason, which is also the vehicle of revelation," particularly in his rational exposition of the doctrine of the Trinity, as superior to the antecedent idea which "the clear vision of the XVIII. century had rejected." Curiously significant of this Hegel drift is the evident eagerness with which the Faribault Professor, to whom also Hegel stands as "The vindicator of the Nicene doctrine of the Holy Trinity!" hastens to defend him against the apprehended ill consequences to American Hegelism, from Professor Allen's apparent endorsement of Hegel. Why such a difference between Hegel in Minnesota and Massachusetts?

The other natural and necessary outcome of Kant's Transcendentalism — as indeed it is also of its opposite, Spencer's Experientialism — is Agnosticism and Rationalism. Of Agnosticism — the philosophical "know-nothingism" of the times — little need be said, as it is not so much a philosophy as a deceptive neutral attitude in philosophy, due either to indifference or scepticism. Practically it is Equivocal Atheism, or scepticism without "the courage of its convictions." It stands faltering between Experiential Materialism and Spurious Transcendentalism; and, leaning on both, mutters its doubt: "If there be nothing beyond matter, or if nothing can be known beyond the natural, God can only be a religious faith or a theological postulate; and, therefore, it is both unphilosophical to affirm His existence, and unsafe to deny it." And so it stands,

Letting *I dare not* wait upon *I would*,
Like the poor cat i' the adage.

A thing so enervate and absurd has little power either to subvert or pervert Christianity.

More importance attaches to *Rationalism*, since it concerns itself more with revealed religion than philosophy, and in the field of Biblical criticism has distinguished itself by its open and unsparing attacks on

Christianity. As evolutionism is simply materialism in search for a cause of all things in matter itself, so rationalism is little other than German Transcendentalism following up its exclusion of reason from the Supernatural, by endeavoring to eliminate from Revelation and Revealed Religion everything which it regards as *super-rational*. The process of its derivation may easily be traced out. Reason, in its transcendence, is suffered absolutely to dominate over experience, but is forbidden to stand in any similar manner higher than the merely natural. This, of course, shuts up and seals the Supernatural from the eye of human knowledge, and makes God, if He exists, the absolutely unknown and unknowable. But, inasmuch as man is unable to escape the idea of God, and as religion is a practical necessity in human society, Transcendentalism allows them to remain as matters of mere faith, and attempts, through an idealistic reconstruction of Christianity and the Church, to make them supply the needed religious elements. Rationalism, however, starting from the same assumption, — that Reason cannot transcend Nature, — argues that the natural is the only rational or reasonable; and hence, that if there be a God, He can only be known in and through the natural, and must be accepted only so far as is naturally reasonable. But, unlike the great Transcendentalists, taking no account of the value of the religious idea as “a regulative principle,” the rationalist is little concerned about either providing a new religion or making the old suffice. His aim has rather been to overthrow the latter by destroying the revelation on which it rests. To this end, rationalism — and it finds a hearty ally in religious evolutionism — endeavors to eliminate every vestige of the Supernatural from the Holy Scriptures, either by boldly excluding it, or by cunningly resolving it into what it considers the rationally natural, or the naturally reasonable. This has been the special work of what has been aptly termed the “Destructive Criticism.” In all this, the fault, or rather the vice, of rationalism is this, that claiming to be guided solely by the reason, it subjects

Revelation and Religion to the demands of *Reason-in-experience* only, but refuses to recognise the fact that under the very eye of that reason there are things which can be *cognised* by the rational spirit, which it does not yet comprehend, or which can never be comprehended by it; things which come into experience simply as facts in actuality but not totality; objects of knowledge like far-off, inaccessible peaks, which may be seen but not scaled; seas on which one may sail, though he cannot trace their sinuous shores or sound their depths; stars in the infinitudes of space, which shine clearer than the farthing candles in our hands, but whose disks we cannot traverse with our theodolites and Gunter's chains. It refuses, also, the fact that with reason, adequate evidence of the remote is as valid proof as the more immediate appearances of the near; that with the exception of here and there a golden thread of immediate apprehension, the great web of human knowledge is woven of testimony; and, indeed, that things which cannot be rationally explained may be reasonably evident through testimony.

It is time, however, to come to the application of the preceding line of thought. I have indicated *German Transcendentalism* as the more subtle and dangerous of these philosophies. Certainly, at the present time, it is the later drift or swirl of "Modern Thought;" it is vigorously put forward in the most fresh and attractive dress, by an especially acute, cultivated, and vigorous class of minds; and it wins its way the more easily, because it wears so enticing an air of religious breadth and toleration, and of philosophical finish and finality. The insidiousness and power of its hold on certain minds; the ingenuity and earnestness with which it or its resultant doctrines may be advocated; and the variety of its phases of hostility to the Church and her Catholic Theology, may, perhaps, as well as in any other way, be gathered from a somewhat critical notice of Professor Allen's *Continuity of Christian Thought* as one of the more striking of a number of recent works pervaded by what is somewhat ostentatiously styled "Modern Thought."

Of the writer it may be freely said he is a quick, bright thinker, a ready master of good strong English, fluent and forcible in statement, taking his own positions with adventurous decision, launching his attack against those antagonistic with chivalric *élan*, and in his headlong charge even stooping low in his saddle, and with a sudden swoop of his arm claspings you and lifting you to his saddle-bow, to be borne onward, "will ye, nil ye," into the thick of the fight. While cheerfully paying this tribute to the writer as such; it must not be taken as spoken in praise of the work. Its very ability, address, art, or whatever else one may choose to call it, only make it the more dangerous. It is all the more dangerous for the wider currency likely to be given it by criticism in which the edge of censure is adroitly turned by previous praise, as to us seems in one case certainly to have been done. That the writer himself honestly believes his own theory, we do not question; as little do we doubt his failure to give us the calm, judicial, scholarly study which the truth of history, the gravity of the subject, and the needs of the Church demanded. It ought, then, as doubtless the writer himself desires, to be on all sides subjected to searching, though not uncandid, criticism.

In venturing upon such a criticism so far as is practicable here, it may be suggested, *first*, that for the class of readers to whom it more especially addresses itself, the book is defective in several particulars. Depending so largely as it does on the method of dogmatic assertion or statement, it is unfortunate that it does not distinguish more clearly between the author's own views and those he attributes to his favorite Father, unless, as appears to be the fact, they are identical. This defect exposes one to the danger of criticising Professor Allen, when the axe should be laid at the root of the Clementine theology alone. Furthermore, its method and style, while finely adapted to the temporary purposes of the popular lecture, in which surface brilliance is often the sole need, are neither sufficiently cautious nor studied for the printed treatise, which is to be leisurely perused and deliberately weighed according to its solid worth rather than its taking

ways. The *writer's* ordeal is worse than that of the speaker. A third still more unfortunate defect is its entire lack of localising references or citations in form. The writer's dashing method of stating the views of the Fathers naturally creates a doubt as to either his candor or his correctness, which only a reference to their *ipsissima verba* can remove. He forgets, also, that as broaching a scheme which attacks a long established and widely accepted Catholic theology, it devolves on *himself* to collect and present the requisite references and citations. It is unfair to impose that work on his readers. He who proposes to pull down my house must show the proper warrant himself. It is not my business to find it. Besides, were it even proper for his readers to verify his statements for themselves, he forgets that, as the rule, the clergy, who are to be his principal readers, neither have, nor are able to have, libraries at all adequate to this work of Patristic verification. Unless, then, they are expected to take the whole on trust, in blind deference to the author's position, they should have been supplied with the proper citations in the book itself.

The work, however, is open to graver defects of a historical nature. As a tractate on *The Continuity of Christian Thought*, its method should be no less historical than critical. Hence, it should certainly start with, and give due preëminence to, the *first* sources of Christian thought. Strange to say, however, except as a sort of incidental reference made to S. John the Evangelist, the writer passes over the New Testament Scriptures, and, with a leap like the spang of the kangaroo, plunges bodily into the century-later writings of an Alexandrine Father. Had our LORD and S. Paul — himself the first Christian theologian of his age — nothing to do with originating and formulating Christian thought? Are we to understand that this important work was reserved for an Alexandrine "fulness of time," and for a Hellenising thinker of the III. century? Be that as it may, Professor Allen boldly starts with *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and hinges everything on his philosophico-theolog-

ical speculations. Really it would seem that his work should have been entitled *The Nature and Course of Clementine Christian Thought*, or, perhaps still better, "*Modern Thought*" in *Clement of Alexandria*. Or, if his *per saltum* method is admissible, why not with better justice lengthen the leap, and begin with S. Augustine? He was a theologian of a riper age, of no less varied attainments, and indissolubly associated with the only form of Christian thought which has since preserved not only its continuity, but its universality through the ages, — *as the other has not done*. Or is it an objection that S. Augustine affords no Patristic authority for this "Modern Thought" — is on the other side?

Where, again, is the historical consistency of setting aside with a mere fillip, that gap in the continuity of this Clementine "Christian Thought" caused by the rise and yet unbroken predominance of Augustinian "Christian Thought"? When Professor Allen finds it confronting him, and avers that "The principle of historical continuity was not violated when Greek thought was translated into the theological idiom of the Latin mind," and so clears the chasm with another of his flying leaps, we are reminded of the French *mot* on the charge of the Light Brigade at Balaklava, "*C'est magnifique; mais ce n'est pas la guerre*;" — it is right deftly done, but it is neither critically nor historically the right thing to do. The continuity of this Clementine theology *was* broken when Greek thought was *supplanted* by Latin thought in the Augustinian theology. I say *supplanted*, for the phrase "translated into the theological idiom of the Latin mind" is a mere euphemism. According to Professor Allen's own showing, the two theologies were as wide apart as conflicting "immanence" and "transcendence" could well make them. As for this "translated" Greek thought, otherwise Augustinian theology, saving its adaptation, according to Professor Allen, as a "deterioration" of the *very* of the "the second childhood which was overtaking *and* of the *hard* *kn*," it gets little at his hands but a continuous *we* *acks*, which by no means accord with its

importance to his "Continuity of Christian Thought" as being the "missing" link between *Clement* and *Schleiermacher*. The truth is, looking at this Latin gap between the two, the title of his book should have been *The Rise, Subsidence, and Recent Recovery of Alexandrine or Greek Thought*.

In this connection, it may be urged, further, that it does not appear consistent with either the breadth or impartiality of history to recognise, as Professor Allen does, the mighty transfer of ecclesiastical predominance from the East to the West as a providential means of securing for Christianity and the Church the organic unity, strength, and progress necessary to their triumph over the nations, so utterly impossible under Greek subtlety, impracticability, and divisiveness, and at the same time to ignore completely that other and equally important aim of Divine Providence, the rescue of Christian thought from the philosophical compromises, theological contention, and heretic fruitfulness of the Greek mind, and its reëstablishment under the better auspices of the plain, straight-forward, matter-of-fact comprehensiveness and vigor of Roman intellect and devotion. Indeed, the only just conclusion would seem to be that the decline of the Alexandrine theology — a fact conceded by Professor Allen — was due to its vice of philosophising, and that the transfer of Christian predominance and power to Rome was as much for the sake of truth in doctrine as of organic strength and completeness.

It is not pleasant to fault seriously so evidently earnest and well-intentioned a thinker as Professor Allen; but in another direction his overpowering philosophical bias, his tendency to over-hasty generalisation, and, perhaps, a constitutional taste for a bold, vivacious, free-hand treatment of his themes, have led him into another violation of both historical and critical accuracy. He does not correctly represent the views of the typical thinkers whom he passes in review, particularly Clement of Alexandria and S. Augustine. He neither draws his conclusions from their thought in its entirety, nor is he quite capable of touching even their true views without leav-

ing a decided impress of his own upon them. In fact he *Allenizes* everything, — and he does it brilliantly. In his hands Clementine thought becomes a theological “symphony in white;” that of S. Augustine is, whatever it is, in black, and that no symphony, but rather a black-key fugue upon the dread sovereignty of a transcendent Deity. But the result is not just and equal. The Fairbault Professor, in the *Church Eclectic*, admits this unfairness to S. Augustine; the Racine Doctor shows, in the *CHURCH REVIEW*, how one-sided a use he makes of Clement. As for other ecclesiastics and theologians, they are here and there sketched with no small freshness and vigor, but with a touch and tone more or less affected by the side of the question of “immanence” and “transcendence” on which they range themselves. The truth is, if Professor Allen has not been fairly run away with by his favorite notion, he does his best to have it run away with his readers.

It is time, however, to turn the attention more expressly to certain *leading* points in *Continuity of Christian Thought*, which are in doctrinal conflict with Christian thought as it has been, and is commonly accepted. It is to be noticed, *first*, that Holy Scripture has practically nothing to do with the book. Its ground is what is assumed to be the Hellenising Clementine view of Christianity. The whole discussion hinges upon the doctrine of the “Divine Immanence,” particularly as opposed to the “Divine transcendence.” The first page of the book betrays the animus of the whole. Theological doctrine, it argues, necessarily changes with changed views of God. The traditional conception of God which has come down to us is undergoing a momentous change. The idea that God is transcendent is giving place to that of His immanence. This involves equally momentous changes in every department of thought. Especially is this true of its effect on theology. The book is expected to show what these changes must be, if we go back to the theology of those early Alexandrine thinkers in whose minds the “Divine Immanence” was the underlying and dominant thought. Changes portentous enough they are, according to its showing.

Another curious fact is, that, although it is the ground factor in Professor Allen's work, "immanence," as applied to the Deity, is left undefined. On the other hand, there is no want of effort to show what His transcendence is regarded as being. A sort of kaleidoscopic view is given it; each turn of the instrument presenting a darker picture than the other. According to Professor Allen, God, as transcendent, is represented as not only above the world by His moral perfection; He is also separated from it by infinite reaches of space. He is localised as a physical essence in that remoteness. Having created the world by His omnipotence, He secludes Himself from connection with it. The tie which unites God to Nature is broken. God is on one side of a mighty chasm, and man is on the other. But if this is "transcendence," what is "immanence"? Are we to understand that it is the precise antithesis of the other? However this may be, this tenderly undefined immanence is, according to Professor Allen, the corner-stone of Clementine Christian Thought, and the other is the very *daimon* of Augustinian Theology. Nor does S. Augustine get credit for insight and breadth enough to hold to the Divine immanence at all. Even his explicit avowal of the doctrine, quoted by Professor Allen, is, like the masterly statement of S. Thomas Aquinas also, summarily flirted aside, as only an exceptional glance of higher thought, "which served him in his epoch of transition," or marked a certain stage of his swinging, Brownson-like, around the circle of his various speculations. This is, — well, let us say, audacity.

But what are the transcendence and immanence which play such an important part in this *Continuity of Christian Thought*? Krauth and Fleming, quoting Morell, say, "Immanence implies the unity of the intelligent principle in creation, in the creation itself, and, of course, includes in it every form of pantheism. Transcendence implies the existence of a separate Divine intelligence, and of another and spiritual state of being, intended to perfectionate our own." The definition is condensed, if not imperfect. It indicates, however, correctly in His

transcendence, God's distinct personal existence, considered as in a rational and spiritual sense, prior, apart from, and superior to the whole finite creation; and shows also the close relation of the immanence now so much insisted on, with pantheism either idealistic or materialistic, — God, according to that, being in all things as either only a universal Ego, universal Consciousness, universal Will, universal Personality, universal principle of intelligence, universal law, or, perhaps, nature, — anything and everything but the One True God. But instead of His being thus, or in any other mode, either exclusively immanent or immanent as opposed to transcendent, the truth appears rather to be this: that God is *both* transcendent and immanent; transcendent in His spiritual essence and Divine personality; immanent, or in all things, in the sense, that His out-going creative volition, or potency, is that by which they were made and in which they consist [*Psalm xc. 2*]. The transcendence is personal; the immanence is virtual, or potential. The one is the complement of the other; but not the latter coequal or coeval with the former.

No small importance attaches to the view to be taken of immanence, not only because Professor Allen's *Continuity of Christian Thought* turns upon it, but also because of its own dangerous tendencies. If, for example, God is only immanent; if He is merely in all things but in no way apart from, independent of, and supreme over things, why is not every finite being or thing, not so much a manifestation, as a part of the Deity; and why is not the aggregate of all things — the Kosmos, with the *Manifest* as the *Corpus Mundi*, and the *Immanent* as the *Anima Mundi* — the whole of God; the only God? But is not this a sufficient ground for all pantheism, polytheism, and even fetichism? Again, if God be thus immanent only, then either He is not eternal or the Kosmos also is. But if the Kosmos is eternal, matter which, as its physical substance, holds so large a place in the nature of things, must also be eternal. Is not this to destroy all distinctions between matter and mind, nature and God?

To apply the doctrine more particularly to its theological side: if God, as immanent in all things, is immanent in man, then how has man come to be a fallen being; how is he *the* sinner; or, for that matter, what is sin? Or, still further, how, with no transcendent personality in God, can there be any Supernatural, and if no Supernatural, how can there be any inspiration or revelation according to the Christian idea? More than this, how can there be any proper Incarnation? Or was the Incarnation simply an enlarging or intensifying of the modicum of Divine immanence in man, — in one particular man; and if so, was JESUS the GOD-Man, or merely the Man-GOD? In short, discharge the Divine idea of a true transcendence, and what becomes of all the grand supernatural facts set forth in the Holy Scriptures? Or what of those Scriptures, as in any sense sacred or authoritative writings, especially, as their one dominant assumption is, that of the transcendent personality of the One True God?

Something of what becomes of these Scripture facts and truths under the theory of immanence, either exclusive or dominant, may be seen by looking at some of its out-workings in *The Continuity of Christian Thought*. First, then, what is inspiration? "It is no arbitrary action of God upon the human faculties, but rather the high exhibition of that capacity with which the human constitution is endowed, in virtue of its Divine affiliation." "It has the same general character in the sacred writers that it has among the Greek philosophers" (p. 59). But what is this more than the inspiration of genius in the realm of science and art?

Secondly, what is revelation? According to this Clementine Christian thought, "The highest products of the reason are the fruit of Divine revelation." There is no difference "between natural and revealed religion; between what man discovers and God reveals. All that is true and well said in Greek philosophy was as truly given by Divine revelation as was the moral truth proclaimed by Jewish legislators and prophets" [p. 47]. The higher activities of human thought and reflection

are the only process by which the revelation of truth is conveyed to man; "a revelation which GOD is always making in the world" [p. 60]. But is this any such revelation as is set forth in Holy Scripture, and as has always been held by the Church?

Thirdly, of what is that "theology whose characteristics," according to Professor Allen, "are a genuine catholicity, spiritual depth and freedom, a marked rationality and a lofty ethical tone," an evolution or outcome? Simply, "the alliance of Greek philosophy," a philosophy which, according to Clement, "contained a direct Divine revelation" [p. 41] "and Christian thought" [p. 42]. "Christianity" "grew as directly out of Greek philosophy as out of Hebrew prophecy" [p. 39]. And this Christianity is found in "An earlier and purer type, when priesthood and altar and temple and sacrifice were regarded as having been abolished" [p. 33]. As for the Incarnation, it is difficult to say what it is, according to Professor Allen; for though no Christian doctrine could be more radically affected by his favorite principle of the "Divine immanence" than this, he carefully avoids any clear statement of its true character. The two vital questions raised by his speculations: what is the Divine immanence in humanity, and what is the Incarnation as an outcome of this immanence?—these, he leaves, amidst the smother of his impetuous dogmatising, "to die and give no sign."

Still further, what the Holy Sacraments are according to this modernised Clementine theology, may be seen from the representation of the Holy Eucharist as not a channel for the conveyance of grace, and as not charged with any express Divine presence,—that being supplied by the immanence of CHRIST in humanity; the bread and wine standing simply "as metaphors of that Eternal Word of life conveyed by GOD in CHRIST to those who know to receive it, by the many and diverse channels of approach to which the soul lies open" [p. 63]. As for the Resurrection, it is "only a standing up again in an immortal life" [p. 67], or "in greater fullness of life" [p. 167]. Beyond this, what of the Judgment? It "enters into the

work of redemption as a constructive factor:" or is "a present continuous element in the process of human education," its purpose, "as of all Divine penalties, is remedial" [p. 53]. As for our LORD's second Advent, under this view of the Judgment, it goes without saying, that it is nowhere, except as, perhaps, like the Judgment, it may be a present continuous element in the process of human education, "a something going on everywhere and at all times in the Church and the world." It is, however, needless to pursue this line of thought further. The learned Racine Reviewer has sufficiently shown how large a part of the Catholic Faith has been either mystified or discarded by this painful book.

In conclusion, we put squarely against this particular theology of the Divine immanence a practical objection. Thinkers of the class we have been considering overlook two plain facts antagonistic to their schemes. The *first*, that Clementine Greek thought was, at best, a light only for the philosophical few. As for the multitude, it was unavailing if not even mischievous, and, as a consequence, its candlestick was soon removed out of its place. It did not, and never could, effectually subserve the world-wide aims of practical Christianity. It was, hence, providentially supplanted by Latin theology, and by that, not as a mere parenthesis in the Christian thought of the ages, but as its more capable and commanding manifestation. In the *second* place, this movement was not only providential, but also necessary. A religion, to be of avail for the masses of mankind, must come to them *as they are*, which the more subtle philosophies can never do. Even its higher truths must be laid open to the common mind along the lines of its own simple, literal, matter-of-fact thought and belief, which is precisely what no scheme of Pure Idealism or Philosophical Immanence can do. Hence, it must accept without demur the objective reality of things; the radical difference between mind and matter; the transcendent personality as well as potential immanence of the Deity; and the supernatural character of revelation and the one true religion. This is, however, precisely what the Holy Scriptures

have done; what the majority of the Christian Fathers did; and what the great body of the universal Church is now doing. And it is well that they have done so, otherwise Christianity and the Church might, even in their infancy, have perished, as did the intellectual predominance, civilisation, and even the national life of the Greeks, through the over-subtlety, the impracticability, and divisiveness of the Greek mind.

As for our author, who, with good enough intentions, has done work of so much ability so brilliantly amiss, while we do not advise him to follow the implied counsel of another of his reviewers, — letting the place that now knows him know hence no more, — we would say of his *Continuity of Christian Thought*, revise it, “reform it altogether,” or, perhaps, to use his own phraseology, “translate” it after the fashion in which Clementine Thought got translated into Roman Theology, — translate it into something less Hegelian, less Schleiermacherish, less Clementine, even, into something more Scriptural, Apostolic, Catholic.

FREDERICK S. JEWELL

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND DURING THE REIGN OF EDWARD THE VI.

History of the Church of England from the Abolition of the Roman Jurisdiction. By RICHARD WATSON DIXON, M. A., Vicar of Warkworth; Honorary Canon of Carlisle. Vol. II. Ch. XIII.-XIV., A. D. 1547, 1548. Vol. III., A. D. 1549-1553. London and New York: George Routledge and Sons. 1881, 1885.

CANON DIXON's learned and valuable *History of the Church of England from the Abolition of the Roman Jurisdiction* has now reached its third volume. The importance of this work has been so readily conceded by the English critics that perhaps any commendatory introduction of it on our part is superfluous. Nevertheless we fear that it is not as well known on our side of the Atlantic as it doubtless is in England.

One great merit of this work, which drew immediate attention to it upon the publication of the first volume in 1878, is the author's exhaustive and accurate knowledge of the original documents pertaining to the period of the English Reformation, and his fearless impartiality in dealing with the facts which those documents disclose. The story of the resurrection of these long buried, forgotten, and often decaying sources of history, reads like a literary romance; but the labors of the late Mr. Brewer, of Mr. Gairdner, and others, among the mass of State Papers in the Record Office, have furnished copious material for the reconstruction of much of the history of that period. To this work of reconstruction Canon Dixon has brought a mind well-stored, a ripe and well-balanced judgment, a love of truth which rises above any fear of the unpleasant consequences which sometimes

follow the telling of it, a habit of patient and thorough investigation and collation of evidence, and a lucid and concise style which is very interesting, even when the subject is dry. He has also the poetic faculty of reproducing to the mind the condition of affairs in the times of which he writes. He is neither a prejudiced partisan like Burnet, nor an advocate regardless of evidence like Froude. More minute and painstaking than the Rev. J. H. Blunt, in his valuable *History of the Reformation*, he is even more skilful than Collier in separating the evil from the good in the Reformation movement, and altogether takes a more comprehensive view of the political and social character and results of the Reformation than any previous historian.

We have selected for special notice that portion of Canon Dixon's work which treats of the Reign of Edward the VI., because during that time the conflict between England and Rome was kept in abeyance by a more threatening foe, or rather combination of enemies, which menaced not only the essential Catholicity of the Church of England, but her very existence as an Institution, — a National Church. Never at any former period of her history had the Church been brought so low, been so desolate and wasted and powerless, as she was during the dark days of Edward VI. The reign of "Bloody Mary," as Protestant tradition has dubbed her (though she was not as sanguinary as her father and her sister), was a Providential blessing to the English Church, at least negatively, in checking the tide of error, spoliation, dissolution, and corruption. Though the tyrannical hand of Henry VIII. had borne cruelly upon the Church; though the monastic establishments were gone and their lands were parcelled out among a horde of newly-created nobility; though the clergy had been brought by fines, imprisonment, and "wholesome examples," *i. e.*, executions, to acknowledge the Royal Supremacy, the little finger of which threatened to be made thicker than the Papal loins; yet real and substantial changes, approved for the most part by the nation, had been effected for the better in the Church of England, changes which left the

Church undeniably Catholic in doctrine and discipline, as well as in worship. Side by side with shameless plundering of monastic property, and often of parochial and cathedral property, the tendency of the doctrinal and ritual changes of Henry's reign were strictly conservative. The Old Catholics, as we may properly call them, retained a firm hold upon Henry's confidence to the last, and their leader, Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, was more influential than Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer together. Canon Dixon does not need to go out of his way to vindicate the character of Gardiner, and that vindication is successfully made in the course of the narrative. Foxe and his followers have blackened the great Bishop of Winchester to their hearts' content, and posterity has inherited their legacy of hatred, but Canon Dixon says : —

Whatever inconsistency, or at least whatever changes of opinion this prelate may have shown in after times, he seems to have been throughout the reigns, both of Henry and Edward, the only high ecclesiastic who thoroughly knew his own mind. For this one quality, valuable in such a revolution, the Church owes him remembrance. He had witnessed with approbation the measures of the late reign (Henry's) : the ousting of the Pope, the ruin of the monasteries, and even the destruction of shrines and images, so far as the distinction was made good between those that were superstitiously abused and those that were not. Perhaps he had been subdued in some measure by the force of the great tyrant, who was wont to boast that none but himself could manage the high and singular Winchester. The mind, the charity, the temper of Gardiner, all were logical. . . . Gardiner now* took his stand upon the settlement which Henry had left, a settlement which Henry vainly termed a Pacification, and according to which the Catholic system was to be preserved amidst all mutations, and a line drawn beyond which the tide of innovation should not flow. This settlement he saw about to be overturned by the men whom Henry had appointed to maintain it [vol. ii., pp. 418, 419].

In fact, there were seething elements of revolution and destruction gathering force during Henry's reign, but the Tudor tyrant was able to keep them all in due restraint, while he took the part of sole revolutionist himself. They must be content to serve as his unscrupulous agents, or take the consequences. But when Henry was dead these subordinates became the principals, and we

* In the beginning of Edward's reign.

can at least say that they made thorough use of the iniquitous training they had enjoyed under the hand of their late master.

The usurpation of Somerset, and one of the most disastrous periods of English history, was now begun. The calling of Parliament was delayed to the end of the year (1547), though that indeed would have given no check to the designs which were meditated; and in the interval a series of violent measures was effected by which England was shaken to the centre. New books, new doctrines were forced upon the realm: in a new war with Scotland the armed force* was paraded on which the usurper and his partisans relied in the last resort; a new Visitation, ordered in the name of royalty, penetrated or threatened every corporate body in the kingdom; and church robbery went on unchecked. The doings of unbridled fanatics and unscrupulous self-seekers made the late tyranny seem in comparison a time of law and order: and men who groaned beneath the Seymours and the Dudleys were presently crying out for the Church and the laws of Henry the VIII. Even so, in times of bad government, had men clamored for the laws of Edward the Confessor, or the Charter of John: though Edward the Confessor and John were two as wretched kings as ever swayed the English sceptre [vol. ii., pp. 416, 417].

And yet an ignorant tradition has taught us to call the reign of Edward VI. "The Triumph of the Reformation!" We hope to show from Canon Dixon's work that it was rather the triumph of corruption and covetousness, of license in morals and heresy in doctrine, and that the wonder is that the Church of England came out of those dark days with any just claim to be a branch of the Catholic Church of CHRIST, with her Priesthood and Sacraments, her doctrine and worship yet remaining to her. With such an organised host of evils arrayed against her, the fact of her survival as a Catholic Church, and of her ultimate triumph over the disintegrating forces at work within her, make the history of the English Church an absorbing study, never devoid of interest.

I. The social and political character of the Reformation in England was that of a Revolution of the rich against the poor, a revolution in fact, but not in name or form. Every step in the great process of change in State and Church which was inaugurated by Henry VIII.

* These were chiefly foreign mercenaries, see vol. ii., p. 505: "On the mercenary army everything depended in the last resort."

taken within the forms and limits of the English titution, not by the subversion of it. Precedents of sort or another were constantly cited, and there were ent disclaimers of revolutionary intentions or ac- Yet there was a revolution of vast extent through-England. The Church and Monastery lands were inds of the poor, being occupied by the farmers and its upon long and easy leases, and the monks were rally indulgent landlords. The same may be said of Church lands which were held in mortmain by Cathedral and Collegiate chapters, and by many hes. Again, the large number of these bodies and *raison d'être* as religious corporations made them landlords. Their interests were in common with of the mass of the people. Moreover, during the ding centuries a vast and widely beneficial system aritable organisations had been founded and end, such as hospitals, almshouses, and parochial and istic free schools, all for the benefit of the poor. les, there was everywhere the right of use to the c common land in every parish, which the poor en- l. There were monthly and weekly doles of food, ing, or money, which proceeded from endowments such like pious benefactions to the poor, and were ibuted by the parish Priests or the monks. The asteries themselves expended a large portion of their nes in charity. The great revolution in property ged all this. The monastic lands and revenues, a vast amount of the Church lands proper, passed the hands of a few greedy and rapacious courtiers, r of the old nobility, or of those who succeeded in ming ennobled. The ancient landmarks were reed, field was added to field, and the possession of h only whetted the appetite for more. The new lity were as hard landlords as they were greedy erers of spoil. They extracted from their great es- all that they could compel them to yield. The hand ne great lay Lord was far heavier upon the poor that of the Church corporations. We wonder at vast increase of paupers, "sturdy beggars," and vaga-

bonds in the days of Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth. The revolution of the rich against the poor explains it clearly. The common lands, often the chief dependence of the very poor, were enclosed by these landholders, to the untold hardship of the people.* Canon Dixon gives several lists of Abbey and Church lands bestowed upon these leeches, and one cannot fail to remark how few were the beneficiaries and how numerous and valuable were the "donations." The parishes suffered severely in the spoliation of the monasteries, for the tithes of many parishes had been impropriated by the monasteries, which provided a vicar and paid him out of the tithes. When the monasteries were despoiled their new possessors were careful not to restore the tithes to the parishes, but retained them, appointed a "cheaper" vicar, often from among their own servants, and pocketed the difference. When the bill for the suppression of chantries and colleges was before the Parliament of Edward VI., Cranmer himself endeavored to save their lands to the Church, to devote them to increasing the many livings which had been reduced to poverty in the course of the revolution. His efforts were of no avail. Not only chantries, but hospitals also, which were not included in the bill at all, fell into the capacious pockets of the hungry crew which held the reins of government. There seemed to be no *power* to stay the tide of spoliation.

But the most remarkable thing in this act was that it contained clauses which condemned to destruction all corporations whatever, not only clerical but lay; all guilds, fraternities, companies, and fellowships of mysteries and crafts, and all the lands and possessions belonging to the same. All were made over to the crown, and commissioners were to be appointed to examine and take possession. The true nature of the revolution of the rich against the poor was now clearly manifested. It was designed to have been a universal reversion into private ownership, and an utter abandonment of the old principle of corporate holding, which has always been at the bottom of the institutions that make nations great. Corporate holding has ever been the safeguard of poverty. It has even enabled men to profess poverty, and yet be great.

But it was soon found that lay corporations were not defenceless. When the bill came down to the Lower House it was strongly opposed

* See vol. iii, p. 44.

by some of the members, especially by the burgesses for Lynn and for Coventry. The arguments of these active members would have moved the House to reject that part of the bill in which the lay corporations were concerned, if they had not been taken off by the court partly upon an assurance that the corporate property and lands would be resigned only to be restored. This promise it was found prudent to keep. The bill was passed ; but it remained a dead letter so far as it regarded the lay corporations ; and the force of the revolution, which overwhelmed and wasted so much of the ecclesiastical system, received a check which proved that it could go no farther [vol. ii., p. 462, *sq.*].

All this is very significant. How little the mass of mankind know of the facts of history ! Instead of the Church of England being endowed at the Reformation, she was so thoroughly disendowed and plundered under the Tudors that not all the munificent gifts made to her since that period, nor the great increase in the value of the property that remained to her, have been sufficient to make her as wealthy as she was before the spoliation began. And this is true of the Church proper, excluding from consideration the monastic possessions.

But the revolution of the rich against the poor presents another phase, which amounted to a constitutional change, viz. : the administration of Ecclesiastical Discipline by the State. The clergy became subject to the laity in the government and regulation of the discipline, and to a great extent of the doctrine, of the Church. This was the work of the Protectorate of Somerset and the more dangerous usurpation and domination of Dudley, Duke of Northumberland. Convocation was practically silenced. Royal Commissions, Orders in Council, Acts of Uniformity passed by Parliament, Bishops appointed by Letters Patent, grants of spiritual jurisdiction emanating from the Legislature or the Crown, show how it was attempted to reduce the Church to a mere department of the State. In this degradation of the Church Cranmer took an active and leading part. Speaking of the Church legislation of the Parliament of 1552, Canon Dixon says : —

The measures of the session which affected the Church were numerous, and some of them curious. Some of them took no effect, others bore the germ of the policy of future generations ; some were

supplementary, others contradictory of what had been ordained before by the same assembly. But the most notable feature in them is the design which they manifest of setting in motion the spiritual jurisdiction, the censures of the Church, sometimes with, but sometimes without, the mixture of the temporal jurisdiction. It seems as if it had been desired to furnish the realm with a set of parliamentary statutes which in language should resemble the canons and constitutions of a clerical assembly; to supply the silence of Convocation by the Episcopal and lay legislature; to reanimate the dormant organism of the State Ecclesiastical by the breath of the Civil State [vol. iii., p. 430].

Our author then goes on to treat of this legislation in detail. We now begin to hear of those penalties for dissent and recusancy proposed, enacted, and enforced by the civil power, which have until quite recent times been the badge of the Church's servitude to the State, and one of the chief causes of hereditary prejudices, misunderstandings, and hatreds in regard to her. The far-reaching effect of the subversion of Ecclesiastical discipline and the domination of the Laity over the Clergy is seen in that deep-seated Erastianism which in some form pervades the entire Anglican Communion, and against which the tendency of the Catholic Revival of our day is directed.

II. Another result of the Reformation, one which became abundantly apparent during Edward's reign, was the decay of education. But it is better to tell the story in our author's words:—

One of the most momentous consequences of the revolution, but one which it is difficult to ascertain, was its effect upon education. By most of the religious corporations throughout the country schools were maintained, in which, while the children of the rich might find a ready and accessible training, the prerogative of the poor in alms was never forgotten. Instruction was given gratuitously in these seminaries in reading, singing, and writing, and perhaps in some of the more advanced arts of the age: and the generosity with which they were conducted seems to have warranted the name by which they were generally known, the name of Free Schools. When the monasteries were falling, many petitions are said to have been received that the Free Schools might stand. But the better promotion of solid learning was one of the prettexts of the revolution: and while Henry, Crumwel, and his fellows were destroying these monastic schools, which used to maintain at the Universities the more promising of their pupils, and seizing their funds, they were enjoining the clergy to provide out of their own stipends for the maintenance of scholars at the

Universities. . . . The calamity fell most heavily upon the poor : and it caused a marked diversion of education from one class to another, which it is important to observe. Up to this time, as I believe, the educated class of every grade was recruited chiefly from the independent poor, the yeomen, the small tenants. Many even of the great clerks of this age, from Wolsey to Latimer, were the sons of poor men. The Universities were crowded with poor scholars. It was not, I think, the custom that the sons of the gentry should go to college. They passed in general from the monastic seminaries to the court or the castle, and entered on the life of their station without a preliminary residence on the banks of the Isis or the Cam. The famous school at Glastonbury, under Abbot Whiting, was divided into two grades : of which the poorer furnished the students who proceeded to the nurseries of the order in the Universities : while the richer, consisting of gentlemen's sons, ended their education on the spot, and then went home. But after the great revolution, the Universities were graced more and more by the residence of the higher classes : who were found at times not reluctant to occupy the scholarships and exhibitions which might have maintained their more necessitous rivals [vol. ii., p. 228].

Archbishop Cranmer fought against this iniquitous disendowment of the poor scholars.

'Is the ploughman's son, or the poor man's son,' he exclaimed, 'unworthy to receive the gifts of the HOLY GHOST? Are we to appoint them to be employed according to our fancy, not according to the gifts of Almighty God? None of us all here but had our beginning from a low and base parentage. All gentlemen, for the most part, ascend to their estate through learning.' It was answered that the most part of the nobility were made by feats of arms. 'As though,' said the Archbishop, 'the noble captain was always unfurnished of good learning! If the gentleman's son be apt, let him be admitted ; if not, let the poor man's child, that is apt, enter his room.' The poor had less chance of education after the Reformation than they had before it. The burden of educating them was, by the loss of the monastic schools, flung entirely upon the Church. Voluntary schools, the gradual and painful creations of the piety of sons of the Church, have spread themselves over the face of the country. They have been maintained and directed from generation to generation by the efforts of thousands of unpretending and unrequited incumbents, and still remain the chief dependence of the nation, even amid the educational experiments of the present day [Ibid., p. 229].

And yet the great Radical cry in England to-day is, "Disendow the Church for the purpose of educating the masses." Their forefathers took away the monastic schools and compelled the Church to educate the common people out of her already impoverished resources,

and they propose to plunder the Church now, on the same hypocritical plea. It is fair to presume that the masses would be as little benefited by the latter spoliation as they were by the former.

The strenuous demand of the people for schools at length moved the hearts even of Edward and his Council, and

the name of Edward the VI. is famous for the great foundations that he planted in the nation ; in the number of them he exceeded any of his predecessors.

Twenty-three such schools enumerated by the author still leave imperfect the record of Edward's gifts to education. The benefits conferred by such endowments have been so great that we unwillingly reflect that after all they were but the barest parings that could be cut from the incalculable plunder of corporate property ; that many of them were not the spontaneous grants of piety or repentance, but concessions to the prayers of the inhabitants of impoverished towns and villages ; that the expostulations of necessity were sometimes made in vain ; and that some of the foundations with which the name of Edward is associated were but the restoration in one part of his reign of funds and buildings that had been too hastily embezzled or appropriated in another [vol. iii., pp. 459, 460, and note on latter page].

There were also a few hospitals founded or restored by Edward, in place of the many that were appropriated in his, or in the preceding, reign.

III. During this distressing period the doctrinal and ritual position of the Church is very difficult to define. Things were in dire confusion. Catholicity was on the ebb, and the restraint of Henry's reign being suddenly removed, "glorious and unquiet spirits" had full sway. It suited the policy of the Protector Somerset and his party, to favor to the utmost those extreme anti-Catholic opinions and practices which now came in like a flood. When Northumberland got into power, he was more revolutionary in regard to this than Somerset had been. In what respects and to what extent the reign of Edward VI. was "the golden age of the Reformation" may be seen by following the history of the revision of the Church formularies, a history which is very minutely traced by Canon Dixon ; and also by a review of the

Eucharistic Controversy, to which he devotes considerable space. It must here be borne in mind that the First Book of Common Prayer of Edward's reign was in reality the work of the latter part of Henry's reign. It represented the net result of the conservative and Catholic spirit of the English Reformation, and was the legitimate issue of many years of patient labor on the part of some of the ablest of the Bishops and Doctors of that period. It is true that the Commission on Revision was appointed in the first year of Edward, but it is not to be forgotten that these Revisers had for many years given their attention to the subject, and that they were still animated by a conservative spirit. Their work was constructive. They aimed to preserve what the Church was, as they knew, bound to preserve, their inheritance of Catholic doctrine and order.

The First Book of Edward, the Breviary and Missal that claimed to be 'according to the Use of the Church of England,' was not unworthy in itself of general acceptance, nor discreditable to the learning of the men who composed it. A conservative regard for antiquity was displayed therein, provided that the two great principles were allowed of the vernacular language and the abolition of the Hours.* Simplicity and reason were consulted in reducing the daily prayers to a single volume, to a volume capable of containing also the Missal and the Occasional Offices; and thus ridding the Christian worship of the large diversity of volumes that had been in use. But it will appear in the comparison between the Book and the Sarum Use, its predecessor, that the conservative spirit of the compilers was more manifest in the Breviary and the Offices than in the Missal [vol. iii., p. 15].

Canon Dixon then proceeds to give a comparison of the new form of the English Use with the old form which preceded it. We cannot make quotations, but need only remark that while his comparison is brief, it is lucid and concise. But we may pause here to notice that our author gives good reasons for concluding that not even this First Book of Edward was passed upon by the Convocation, but was set forth by the authority of the King and Parliament only.

* Canon Dixon has a very concise statement concerning the Monastic Hours in vol. ii., p. 540. They became mingled with the services of the Church. They confused the public worship for centuries, etc. And yet they lacked the full authority of the Church. No council ever ordained them; one council at least prohibited them from being mixed with the public service. See Bingham, Book XIII. ch. 9. Their proper place was among private and voluntary devotions, and accordingly they were set forth in the *Primers of Henry and Edward*.

The Convocations of the Clergy had nothing to do with the first Act for the Uniformity of religion. Several pieces of legislation, indeed, during recent sessions, had proceeded upon the suggestion of the clerical assembly; but neither the first Act for Uniformity, nor any of the Acts that came thereafter, had any such origin. Laymen were the authors of those momentous measures. Laymen made the First English Book of Common Prayer into the schedule of a penal statute; and from the time that they first did so, with mournful consistency a penal statute accompanied every succeeding revision of the Book of Common Prayer. The empty records of Convocation, the silence or ambiguity of other documents, at least permit the question to be raised whether the first Prayer Book of Edward the VI. were ever submitted to the Synods of the English Church. Evidence, indeed, has been adduced by several authorities to show that it was; but if the opposite conclusion be advanced, those who best favor the Church of England in the present day may perhaps have less occasion to mourn than to rejoice that Uniformity, the invention of the sixteenth century, sought not the aid of Synods [vol. ii., p. 5].

Canon Dixon then discusses the evidence in favor of its submission to Synods in an exhaustive note, and again on pp. 127, 130, 146, 147, 161, and 163, he touches upon it, and his conclusion is that the Book was never passed by the Convocation of York, and that it is probable that it was not passed by that of Canterbury either, but by Parliament only.

And now we come to the actual results of the spirit which dominated Edward's reign. It was a levelling and desecrating spirit, and it seemed to have complete control of Church and State. Every doctrine, every practice, of the Church became a matter of controversy. The great and bitter Eucharistic controversy was at full flood, and Cranmer was evidently siding with the teachers of Zuinglianism, having previously been accepted as in accord with the Lutherans. The Image War led on to the Altar War, and the Altar War included the sacking of every Church in the Kingdom, and the destruction or confiscation of all the utensils of Divine Service upon which hands could be laid. Vestments, service books, Altar ornaments, all of the external instruments of reverent and dignified worship disappeared.

The zeal of many in this cause was remarkable. There was, for example, the eminent curate of Cree, who preferred an elm-tree to a pulpit, who celebrated on a tombstone rather than approach the altar,

who desired to change the names of the days of the week, to keep Lent after Easter, or before Shrovetide ; and to rededicate the churches. Indeed, if there were any danger, it was not of lagging, but lest there should be a race, who could do the extreme thing [vol. iii., p. 166].

In regard to Doctrine, the true tendency of Edward's reign was to decry and deprave not merely Roman corruptions, but the Catholic Faith itself, and to establish in its stead a distinctly anti-Catholic system, if that can be called a system which was so chaotic and incoherent, that every attempt to systematise it failed. That it did fail in the end, and that the crude and revolutionary teachings of the new Gospellers were not embodied in the formularies of the Church of England, was not the fault of those in power ; not that of the Council, or of Cranmer, or of Hooper, the founder of Nonconformity and Puritanism, or of the company of foreign exiles who repaid the hospitality of the Church of England by leaving her a legacy of fruitful errors, heresies, and schisms. Had Edward the VI. lived to become a man, there would have remained to the Church no vestige of her Catholic heritage. A merciful Providence stopped the flood when at its height. "Thy way is in the sea, and Thy paths in the great waters, and Thy footsteps are not known."

The First Prayer Book gave little satisfaction to the Gospellers, the Calvinistic Reformers like Hooper, and the foreign exiles who had been welcomed in England, and whose tongues and pens were never quiet. Procter * seems to be of the opinion that these foreigners, particularly Martyr and Bucer, did not greatly influence the Commission which drew up the Second Prayer Book. However, Canon Dixon does not agree with him, for he not only asserts that "the assistance which they received from foreigners, especially at this early stage of the revision, was considerable" [vol. iii., p. 279], but he goes on through some ten pages to note their recommendations, particularly those of Bucer's *Censura*, and states in his foot-notes what effect they seem to have had upon the deliberations of the Commission. Again he says [p. 492],—

* Vid. Procter's *History of Bk. of Common Prayer*, p. 41.

The reader who remembers all that Bucer impetrated through his *Censura* of the First Book of Edward, need spend but little time upon the alterations which were made in the Second: the formulary in which the Church of England most nearly condescended to the humiliation of religion which was seen upon the Continent. It was observed that when Bishop Ridley celebrated the new service for the first time in S. Paul's, he stepped from the choir into the pulpit in his rochet only, without cope or vestment. Those ornaments, indeed, alb, cope, and vestment, were expressly forbidden in the new Book; a rochet to a Bishop, a surplice only was permitted to a Priest; and this was a convenient order because there was so little vesture left in churches. Other things, many in number, were omitted in silence in the Second Service, which had place in the First, as if for the same reason, that they were no more. The word tunic disappeared, for there were no tunics to wear: the word hood was hidden along with learning,* and the thing signified by it bespread no longer the shoulders of preachers, to mark the graduate from the person of no degree; the word staff followed the authority of Bishops; the words introit and suffrage vanished with the countless pairs of organs that were put to silence for the King's commodity. The word altar was removed like the structure. With other verbal changes it is less easy to connect a material sign; Matins and Evensong were rejected for the sober designation of Prayer; the terms Mass and Canon of Mass were expunged in consequence of the changed view now maintained of the great doctrines with which they were associated.

When the Second Book came forth at last, after much delay, and without the authority of Convocation, it proved to have become, so far as language went, the utmost concession that was ever made to the Nonconformists. It differed from the First Book of Edward more than the First Book differed from the Use of Salisbury [vol. iii., p. 474].

It was an ineffectual compromise, designed to comprehend differences.

But the opposing principles were so irreconcilable, whether to continue the institutes of the Catholic Church on the one side, or on the other to admit only the institutes of the New Testament, that the compromise was neglected almost before it was made: the monument of reconciliation, the Second Book, was altered and remodelled down to the day that it left the workshop [Ibid., p. 475].

Evidently, the end of this remodelling is not yet! The low Sacramental doctrine of the Second Book was but slightly improved upon in the XLII. Articles of Religion, an extended examination of which will be found in Canon

* Canon Dixon notices fully the great decline of learning, and the desperate condition of the Universities during Edward's reign; *e. g.* vid. vol. ii., p. 98, *et passim*.

Dixon's third volume. It is important to remark that he takes decided ground against the Synodical authority of these Articles, and proves that Heylin, Collier, Cardwell, Lathbury, Hardwick, and others have all been deceived into admitting their Synodical authority, by one of those tricky frauds for which the English Privy Council seems to have been as famous in Edward's day as it has become in our own.* Bishop Burnet keenly suspected their pretended Synodical authority.

But the end of the process of depravation and spoliation was near at hand when the Second Book and the XLII. Articles were put forth. The young King, never robust, was ere long slowly dying, while the members of the Dudley faction were busy intriguing and plotting to secure the crown to Lady Jane Grey, and the more substantial control of Crown, Parliament, Church, and vast ill-gotten estates to themselves. Canon Dixon does not linger over these sad and shameful scenes, nor need we do so. It is enough to say that his summary of the views which have been taken of this period of English History is one with which all learned and unbiased readers will agree:—

His reign (Edward's), to dignify by that title the seven years of an infant, the Protectorate of Somerset, and the domination of Northumberland, is a chaos in the semblance of order, which has been curiously misread in history. There are writers who have described it as the sacred age of England, when the light of the Reformation, which had but glimmered in the days of Henry the VIII., shone forth with a lustre that was doubled by the gloomy horrors that so soon ensued. There are others who, exasperated by the triumph of principles which they detest, have overwhelmed with a deluge of vituperation characters and measures which in truth would ill bear a tenderer handling. It is futile to cover every portrait with black: in total darkness nothing can be seen. Others again have busied themselves in extinguishing some of the greater lights of the Reformation, such as Somerset and Cranmer, without denying that at the Reformation there was an illumination. These last have been actuated not so much by scientific conviction as by boundless indulgence of the passion of hatred of the Church of England. They have regarded men like Somerset and Cranmer as fathers of the Church of England: and it is for this reason that they have pursued their memories with outcries: not because they

* See the whole matter discussed in the notes, vol. iii., pp. 513–518. The author's arguments are convincing.

cared whether they were good or bad, or great or little men. They have been misled in fact by the preposterous notion that the Church of England was created, or had her origin, at the Reformation: and they think that the reign of Edward the VI. was the time when she grew to completion, because it was the time when some of her most important printed formularies were compiled, of which some were ratified by Parliament. This portentous blunder, of supposing that the Church of England was begun in the age that reformed, but also did much to impair her, has vitiated and deprived of value one of the most artistic and elaborate, and one of the most ambitious histories of England of the present century.* Nearly all historical writing is now become a flattery of the people: among the books that flatter the people most enormously are those that contain this error about the Church [vol. iii., p. 546].

Canon Dixon has treated, in these volumes under review, of the first great onslaught, almost overwhelming, of Calvinism and its allied forms of Anti-Catholicism upon the Church of England, during this most critical period of her history. Thrice since Edward's time has the attack gathered sufficient force against the Church and Church principles to precipitate a crisis, and thrice has the inherent Catholicity of the Church prevailed in the contest: the doctrinal attack of Queen Elizabeth's reign, which caused the crystallisation of Dissenting Puritanism and Dissenting Ultramontanism; the political attack of Charles the I. reign, which temporarily abolished the Constitution of Church and State, and brought in the Commonwealth and religious anarchy; and the rise and struggle of Evangelicalism in the present century, which gave birth, by way of reaction, to the Oxford Movement, and has done more, by a long and bitter contest with it, especially in the law courts, to hasten disestablishment, than has been done by any other factor in the case.

May we be permitted to express the hope, in taking leave of Canon Dixon's able and scholarly work concerning the first act in the Church's Post-Reformation struggle, that he may be spared to carry on his noble history at least to the period of the Restoration Settlement in 1662.

FREDERICK W. TAYLOR.

* That of Lord Macaulay.

HEGELIANISM—A PREFATORY STUDY.

HEGEL wrote his own actual posthumous biography when he said: "The condemnation which a great man lays upon the world is to force it to explain him." Scarcely had the grave closed over the chief intellectual victim of the cholera in 1831 when this sentence issued in the most wholesale acceptance, rejection, misrepresentation, criticism, vituperation, and sectarian and heretical interpretations of the Hegelian philosophy. He has been the best abused philosopher of modern times. He evidently apprehended this treatment, as he is also reported to have said of his disciples: "There is only one man living who understands me, and he *does not*." Certainly his reply to the smart Frenchman was very apt. He asked Hegel if he could not gather up and express his philosophy in one sentence for him. "No," he replied, "at least not *in French*." No one who has studied his *Logic*, at least, could wish it to be more brief. It is one of those books "which would be much shorter if it were not so short." The real value of all great works is not to be measured by the immediate assent they command, like commonplace solutions of great questions by ordinary men, but by the amount of study and discussion and explanation they demand in order to gain the wide sweep of view and depth of solution which they contain. Hegel died *master* in the field of philosophy. He had conquered and founded an empire. His philosophy had pervaded universities, State, and Church. His disciples were numerous, admiring, ardent. For ten years after his death his system remained the foremost intellectual phenomenon of the time. In the mean while, however, interpretation was succeeding faith and dismembering the parts of the organic whole of the master. Interpreters

of his system have differed more than those of the Bible. From it, each — the *right* wing, the *centre*, the *left*, and the *extreme left* wings — his dogma sought and each his dogma found. The comprehensive system offered various aspects, which seemed to various types of mind to be the whole system. The *right wing*, Goeschel, Gabler, Daub, and Erdmann, found him to be the champion of Christianity and of all social institutions, while the *extreme left* divested the whole system of all religious and ethical meaning, degenerating into the boldest materialism and atheism. Of this school Feuerbach is best known to us through the early translation of George Eliot. Theology was merely anthropology. Dr. Strauss is the best known representative of the *left* wing, through his mythical theory of the *Life of CHRIST*. While the right wing could plainly show that Hegel had vindicated God as the subject of all philosophy, and Christianity as the absolute and perfect religion whose influence was gradually actualising moral order in humanity, the left wings claimed that *logically* the method made "each man his own God" (autolatry), with "a right to everything" here, as there was no hereafter. They rejected Hegel's acknowledged theistic and Christian position. But to trace these various Orthodox and heretical schools of Hegelianism would be almost to write a history of modern German philosophy.

This breaking up into such opposite schools caused scepticism as to its real worth. This, however, has been the fortune of every great truth or system which has ever influenced the human race. The complete Socratist came only after numerous partial and antagonistic interpreters of Socrates. Hegelianism, indeed, is said by some to be now dead in Germany. The many diverse interpretations of it have been appealed to as a disproof of its validity. Within twenty-five years it has almost ceased to exist in Germany as a *professed* system, while in very truth both its spirit and method are the leaven at work in all the present philosophic thought.

In a "Philosophical Verein," at Leipzig last summer, I ventured to express some surprise at the *studied* ignor-

ing of Hegel. It called forth a flood of bitter but irrational denunciation. Only with the greatest difficulty could one find a full set of his works in that book market of the continent. As a *professed* system it does not reign in Germany. But it died only as the seed which grows. The day of mere discipleship is past. But philosophy owns no Pope. Names stand only for insights of human thought. Plato, Aristotle, Leibnitz, and Kant, have often been "out-grown," and yet they remain *facile principes*, or, as Dante describes Aristotle, "the masters of those who know" [*i maestri di color che sanno*].

Hegel's own "method" has been applied to his system. At first blank being, mere all or nothing or nonsense, becoming, through all sorts of differentiating interpretations, something, many things determinate, only to be again discussed into fragments, still squirming with the life of the logical idea into other and higher representations, till now the transformed Hegel really occupies the intellectual throne as firmly as his bust the pedestal in the *Hegelplatz* in Berlin. This process of the interpretation of a system Hegel himself thus outlines:—

A party first truly shows itself to have won the victory when it breaks up into two parties: for so it proves that it contains in itself the principle with which at first it had to conflict, and thus that it has got beyond the one-sidedness which was incidental to its earliest expression. The interest which formerly divided itself between it and that to which it was opposed now falls entirely within itself, and the opposing principle is left behind and forgotten, just because it is represented by one of the sides in the new controversy which now occupies the minds of men. At the same time it is to be observed that when the old principle thus reappears, it is no longer what it was before; for it is changed and purified by the higher element into which it is now taken up. In this point of view that which appears at first to be a lamentable breach and dissolution of the unity of a party is really the crowning proof of success.

He has been a name to swear at as well as to "swear by." He has not been canonised, yet he is master even of those who know him not. In all that relates to philosophy, religion, and history, Hegelianism is the greatest power in Germany to-day.

Von Hartmann and Wundt may be the conspicuous stars in the present philosophic horizon, but they shine

over only a very small part of the planet that Hegel illuminates. Von Hartmann himself has said: "The few-est of those who are influenced by Hegel's spirit are themselves aware of it: it has become the *common heritage* of the *most cultured circles* of the German people."

In Germany, then, there are but a very few of the old-fashioned followers, disciples, and expounders of Hegelianism as a system, but its spirit and method have become inextricably entangled with the whole thought and culture of the country. It has had disciples and expounders in Italy, France, and Russia. In Great Britain it has also greatly influenced philosophic thought, though accepted and expounded as a system by none. Its introduction to an incurious public some twenty years ago by Dr. J. Hutchinson Stirling has been very ludicrously described by Dr. Masson. It was met "with such a welcome as might be given to an elephant if, from the peculiar shape of the animal, one were uncertain which end of him was his head." Some said of "this uncouth and turbid book," "if this is Hegel in English, he might as well have remained in German." Others were unkind enough to say that Dr. Stirling kept all the "Secret of Hegel" to himself, even if he knew it. A score of years, however, has sufficed to atone for this barbarian reception. Scores of leading thinkers have read, marked, learned, and inwardly digested enough of Hegel's method and results to thankfully acknowledge his great worth. Its influence is especially strong and pronounced at the Universities of Oxford and Glasgow.

In Germany the cry of "back to Kant," and Neo-Kantianism is but the first step of the protest against the temporary materialistic and psychological thought, which means a speedy return to Kant's successors, and especially to Hegel as the truest interpreter and the best finisher of Kant's great fragment. They hear with surprise that Hegel's sun is rising in America after it has set upon the fatherland. It is a sun that sets to rise again. It may safely be said, however, that there are no *mere* disciples and blind adherents of Hegel in America. Perhaps Dr. W. T. Harris has most nearly been a dis-

ciple and exponent of Hegel. Certainly, as Editor of the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy* he has done more than any other man in America to introduce Hegel's method and works to us. He founded it for that express purpose in 1867. But as a thinker he has necessarily cast off the bonds of mere blind partisan discipleship. Replying to the complaint of the un-American character of the contents of the Journal, he said: "It is not American THOUGHT so much as American THINKERS that we want." And to *think* in the philosophic way is to transcend all *national* limits. This is an apt reply, too, to Dr. McCosh's cry for an "*American* philosophy" in the first number of the new *Princeton Review*. So among the rapidly increasing number of those who are studying Hegel in America, there is only the desire and the determination to *think* thought and not merely to reproduce the formulas of any national thinker. The great thinkers of all ages, the great contributors to the Science of Knowledge, are no mere external authorities. Their thought is to be digested and organically reproduced necessarily, it is true, as *American* thought.

Hegel is recognised as a thinker whose comprehension of thought and its method no student of philosophy can fail to acknowledge as great among the greatest. But I judge it to be unjust to characterise these students of Hegelian philosophy as *Hegelians* either in the popular, untrue, or in the exact scientific sense of the name. "Bound to swear in the name of no master" in philosophy and only in the name of CHRIST in religion, would better characterise them all, so far as I know. They recognise Hegel's as the latest great epoch-making contribution to the philosophic interpretation of the world and comprehension of humanity's experience. They are mastering and using his *method* rather than accepting all of the results which this method yielded himself as he applied it to the great spheres of human experience. They are getting great help and looking for greater from the method which is greater than even his own employment of it. Help in comprehension of experience may come from those who are not infallible in knowledge.

I gladly give Professor Edward Caird's estimate of the worth of the charge that Hegel's philosophy has entirely lost the credit in Germany which it partially retains in other countries. Professor Stanley Hall indeed says that it was this *historical status* of Hegelianism that first weakened its hold upon his mind. "If by adherence to Hegel," says Professor Caird,* "be meant that kind of discipleship which is content to be labelled with the name of Hegelian as a complete indication of all its ideas and tendencies, we might state the fact still more broadly. For there *are few, if any, in any country* who could now take up the same position towards Hegel which was accepted by his immediate disciples." Philosophers are not creators, but merely *interpreters* of human experience. They do not spin from their own brain baseless dreams in place of substantial realities. They only *comprehend* the substantial reality beneath and permeating all concrete life, — physical, social, and religious.

Man is in vital relations with his Creator and Redeemer. In his religious life JESUS CHRIST is the fulness of all Divine light and life. As men experience their vital relations to Him they are filled with life and light. Philosophy then comes to interpret and comprehend this Christian experience, to trace in *intellectual forms* the movements of the Divine Logos in all true life and light. In its truest sense Philosophy is Theology; in its highest form it is *Christian* Theology. Its chief interest in Germany and the chief cause of the diverse schools of interpretation have come from its essentially theological character. Philosophy sees the universe as a process, as a manifestation of God. The *Substance* which Pantheism puts back of all things is seen to be the self-revealing, conscious, intelligent, purposeful *Subject—God*. Feuerbach and all other members of the "left wing" rejected this Theistic interpretation which Hegel undoubtedly gave the universe. They denied the essential *validity* of the laws of thought (*the unity of thought and being*), accepting them and all their creations and implications as the work of the individual

* *Hegel*, by Professor Edward Caird, LL.D., p. 223.

thinker, and finally as the mere result of materialistic conditions. From Hegel to Bruno Bauer was from Theism to Materialism. Hegel himself always professed his belief in the doctrines of the Lutheran Church. Against both the rationalistic school and that of mere feeling or faith, he labored to show that the dogmatic creed is the rational development or intellectual exposition of what is implicit in Christian experience. Goe-schel, Gabler, Marheinecke, Daub, and the now venerable Erdmann of evangelical Halle, took this position of Hegel in interpreting his system. They affirmed that Christian experience is the substance of their philosophy. On this ground they maintained the full personality of GOD, and likewise defended historically the literal views given by the Scriptures of the person of CHRIST, as the God-man,—the Mediator between the Divine and the human, in whose light we see light, and in whose life we have life. Dr. Dörner, in his *History of Protestant Theology* [vol. ii., pp. 365–367], affirms the same as to the teaching of these *right-wing* Hegelians.

In England and America, too, the interest in the study of Hegel is chiefly owing to the relation of his thought to religion and to Christianity as the absolute, full, and final religion. It attracts Christian thinkers seeking for intellectual comprehension of religious experience, faith, and facts. God and the Universe, man and freedom, JESUS CHRIST the Reconciler and Finisher of all that is imperfect, all moving on in a divine process, which the light that is within man sees by means of the congenial but infinite Light that enswathes him; in a word, the Divine Logic in all experience is that which Christian thinkers above others should seek and do seek for. They are attracted to Hegel because they find him thinking mightily on the same. And yet the chief opposition to the study of Hegel comes from the *odium theologicum* of Christian teachers. Hegel and his philosophy are abused with insensate epithets enough to warn all true (or stupid) Christians from having anything to do other than to revile this chief apologist of the Theistic and Christian interpretation of the universe.

Pantheist, denier of human freedom and immortality, of the historical CHRIST, and of his eternal person and work, mere charlatan in philosophy and religion, whose real aim and tendency is the destruction of all that is real and great and true in the universe and man and Christianity, as they ignorantly affirm Hegel to have been, they are moved with righteous but ignorant indignation against any one daring to even study Hegel, imposing the high theological and ecclesiastical tariff of *anathema* for such daring offence.

The object of this article is to offer something toward abating this unjust and ungenerous attitude towards Hegelianism and its study. I cannot pretend to have made an exhaustive study of Hegel or of German philosophy since Hegel. I write only in part from the results of independent study.* So much indeed has been mis-said about Hegelianism that I am tempted to continue in this gossip vein throughout and leave the philosophical exposition and vindication for future articles. Indeed anything like a satisfactory exposition of the Hegelian philosophy and its results is beyond the scope of any review article. I attempt only a preliminary clearing away of misconceptions. Dr. Seth deprecates the false humility of those students who represent themselves as merely

* I give the following references to the best accessible English materials on Hegel: Professor Edward Caird's little volume on *Hegel* (English) is an introductory exposition of his philosophy, combining happily biography and popular exposition of the meaning and method of Hegel's *Logic*. His larger volume on *The Philosophy of Kant* is also a good introduction to Hegel. Dr. J. Hutchinson Stirling's *Secret of Hegel* is said to be helpful in the way of exposition. Prof. A. Seth's *From Kant to Hegel* is also said to be very able. Certainly his article in the *Quarterly Review*, *Mind*, October, 1882, is as freely critical as it is justly appreciative. Principal J. Caird's *Philosophy of Religion* does as well and as popularly for Hegel's *Phil. der Religion*, what his brother's little volume does for Hegel's *Logic*. Dr. W. T. Harris has devoted unusual ability and labor in making Hegel known to American thinkers through his *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, vols. i.-xx., in which he has been aided by a corps of competent helpers. He has a volume of critical exposition of Hegel's *Logic* nearly ready for Grigg's German Philosophic Classics. Principal Fairbairn's volume on Hegel's *Philosophy of Religion* for the same series is also promised this year, while Dr. J. Steinforth Kedney's volume on Hegel's *Æsthetics* is already published. Hegel's *Philosophy of History* is translated in Bohn's library. Dr. W. Wallace has translated the text of the *Logic* and prefaced it with helpful introductory expositions. The following books may also be named as *Hegelian*, but not in any merely slavish or expository way: *The Nation*, by Dr. E. Mulford; *Philosophy and Christianity*, by Professor George S. Morris, Ph. D.; *Prolegomena to Ethics*, and *Introduction to Hume's Works*, by the late T. H. Green, the recognized leader of Hegelianism at Oxford; *Ethical Studies*, by F. H. Bradley.

picking up the crumbs at the banquet, merely guessing at his meaning without venturing to compass his thought. I do not assume such humility, for I do not understand how any real student of Hegel can long be ignorant of his secret or method; nor how any independent student can accept him as an infallible master either in his method or in his own employment of it, and much less in his own results in various spheres. But I do understand how no real student of Hegel can ever be the same man, *intellectually*, after, that he was before his study of Hegel. The whole concrete experience of his life and that of humanity receives a new and Divine interpretation and exposition.

And by the vision splendid
Is on his way attended.

He finds in it the poem of the prose of every-day life, because it gives the essential truth and setting of that life. True poetry systematises the chaotic, the multitudinous facts of experiences. So, as Dr. Stirling confessed, the system of Hegel is "in a certain sense only a poem." It is a poem as Christianity is a poem—a grand living system. It is in fact only the *intellectual* rhythm, the *Logic* of the Logos in whom are all things, "both which are in heaven and which are on earth." It is indeed always and everywhere the function of philosophy to point out this rhythmic movement of *thought* in all forms of life—to express all concrete experience in terms of thought. Philosophy is not all things, it is only the thoughtful comprehension and expression of them. Christianity is not the product of a dialectic process, but it is its given concrete object. But its intellectual analysis is the inevitable sequent of its reception by thinking beings. It is true that the transcript which philosophy makes of great concrete wholes may be unattractive to us in our throbbing concrete life—very unlike the flesh and blood of reality. And when taken for the whole, when ignoring that of which it is only the intellectual transcript, it becomes vainly puffed up and deleterious. "Feeling, intuition, and faith," as *Hegel said*, "belong to religion as essential elements, and *mere cognition* of it is

one-sided." But it is one side, and an essential side of the religion of intellectual beings. All theology is proof of this. Even Jacobi, the philosopher of Faith, declared that the reading of Kant's argument for the existence of God brought on a violent fit of palpitation of the heart. So great emotion may an intellectual vision awaken in heart and body as well as in mind. Hegel may indeed be justly accused of looking chiefly and always for the *movement of thought* in all forms of life. But this criticism is itself a valid criticism of all those attacks upon Hegel as a teacher of concrete forms of experience. Philosophy and Theology are both out of place in hours of our profoundest religious emotion. Our communion with God at such times is not the immediate work of thought. But when we reflect upon such or any other experience of our own or of mankind, we seek for the thought, *the Reason*, implicit in it. Philosophy may be said to be retrospective — looking back at the thought at work under the forms of Nature, Mind, Art, State, and Church — trying to comprehend all as the work and expression of governing immanent reason. This is not easy work. And it is special work that demands, as other departments of science do, trained minds that also feel the need that it seeks to supply. Faith, feeling, the mere reasonings of the understanding, have their place in man's work. But the worth of all knowledge, and the reality of all being is also a question for man's study. The intellectual comprehension of the thought and reality of the unfolded universe, — the manifestations of God as *Subject* rather than of substance, — this is the "vision splendid" of that philosophy which is thoroughly and essentially theological. With Hegel philosophy and theology are synonymous. It is this that attracts and fascinates religious thinkers. As in the old Roman Empire "all roads lead to Rome," so in Hegel every finite truth leads up to, and is explained in God. Perhaps a personal confession may not be out of place here, and may be of worth. My own interest in this study began and continues as a purely theological one — the intellectual search for "God as the self-conscious Reason of all

that really is." That is Hegel's true first principle. He early declared that "the great immediate interest of philosophy is to put God again absolutely at the head of the system as the one ground of all, the *principium essendi et cognoscendi*." Again, he devoutly exclaims, "What knowledge is worth knowing if God be unknowable." [*Philosophie der Religion*, vol. i., p. 27.] This spirit is present throughout all of his works that I have read. *Logic* is a Theology.* His *Philosophy of History* is a Theodicy.† So too are his *History of Philosophy*,‡ and his *Philosophy of Religion* explications of God in the mind and hearts of men.

Not only the name but also the nature and works of God are ever the theme to which he turns and in which he ends. He points out that philosophy seeks to apprehend (not create or evolve) by means of thought, the same truth that the religious mind has by faith. His last work was on "The arguments for the existence of God," in which he treated the perfect matter in these proofs as distinguished from the imperfect manner of

* Hegel's *Logic*, pp. 133, 172, 248, *Wallace's Translation*, and *Jour. Spec. Phil.* iii. 369.

† "That the History of the world, with all the changing scenes which its annals present, is this process of development and realization of spirit—this is the true Theodicy, the vindication of God in History. Only *this* insight can reconcile spirit with the history of the world, viz., that what has happened and is happening every day is not only not 'without GOD,' but is essentially His own work" [*Phil. of History*, p. 477].

‡ Speaking of the *History of Philosophy* he says: "For these thousands of years the same Architect has directed the work, and that Architect is the one living Mind of which the nature is Thought and Self-Consciousness." *Logic*, p. 18, *Wallace's Translation*. He goes on to say that differences of system which philosophy presents are not irreconcilable with unity. It is one philosophy at different degrees of completion. In his *Introduction to the History of Philosophy* he states most plainly a *Philosophy of the History of Philosophy*, which is in most cheerful contrast with the comfortless, saddening view maintained by Mr. George H. Lewes. Mr. Lewes' purpose throughout his *History of Philosophy* is to show the negative answer given by every system to the question, what is truth. Each system is refuted by the succeeding ones, and the whole "affords accumulated proofs of the impossibility of Philosophy." Some Christian teachers seem glad to use this sad scepticism as a defence of the faith. [Thus Christlieb, *Modern Doubt and Christian Belief*, p. 80.] Hegel well says: "The history of philosophy would be of all studies most saddening, when it displayed to us the refutation of every system which time has produced. . . . The refutation of a system, however, only means that its limits are passed and that the fixed principle in it has been reduced to an organic element in the completer system that follows. Thus the history of philosophy in its true meaning deals not with the past, but with the eternal and the veritable present; and in its results resembles not a museum of the aberrations of the human intellect, but a pantheon of god-like figures, representing various stages of the immanent logic of all human thought" [*Logic*, p. 137].

statement. In the preliminary chapters of his *Logic* he had already criticised Kant's supposed destruction of these classic arguments. He maintained that no critical reasonings could destroy the necessity and right of the mind to rise from the finite to God; that these arguments are only imperfect descriptions of the implicit relations of man and the universe to God and of the steps of the implicit logic of Religion.

Man is a being that thinks, and therefore sound Common Sense as well as Philosophy will not yield up their right of rising to God from and out of the empirical view of the world. . . . And what men call the proofs of God's existence are seen to be ways of describing and analysing the inward movement of the mind, which is the great thinker, that thinks the *data* of the senses. . . . This leap into the supersensible is thought, and nothing but thought. . . . Animals make no such passage, and in consequence they have no religion.*

In fact his whole *Logic*, which contains his system or method in pure scientific form, seems to me to be but the explication of the nature and activities of God immanent in the actuality and order of the world, and transcendent as its efficient and final Cause. All objects of science, all terms of thought and forms of life lead out of themselves into a supporting fulfilling organised unity. In this completed unity they find their truth and reality. That unity and truth is not external and mechanical, but living, loving, intelligent, and self-conscious. It is God, the Category of all categories — the Subject of all absolute predicates. All knowledge, from one side, is an exaltation of man towards God, while regarded from the other side, it is the manifestation of God to man.†

* Hegel's *Logic*, p. 87, *Wallace's Translation*.

† The ancient philosophers have described God under the image of a round ball. But if that be His nature, God has unfolded it, and in the actual world He has opened the closed shell of truth into a system of nature, into a state system, a system of law and morality, into the system of the world's history. The shut fist has become an open hand, the fingers of which reach out to lay hold of man's mind and draw it to Himself. Nor is the human mind a mere abstruse intellect, blindly moving within its own secret recesses. It is no mere feeling and groping about in a vacuum, but an intelligent system of national organisation. Of that system Thought is the summit in point of form, and thought may be described as the capability of surveying on its surface the expanse of Deity unfolded; or rather as the capability, by means of thinking over it, or entering into it, and then when the entrance has been secured, of thinking over God's expansion of Himself. To take this trouble is the express duty and end of ends set before the thinking mind, ever since God laid aside His rolled-up form, and revealed Himself. *Quoted from Hegel by Wallace in his Translation of Hegel's Logic*, p. xxx.

Both atheistic and, sad to put in the same company, Christian Agnosticism are throughout thoroughly repudiated. GOD knowable because self-manifesting, and man in duty bound to study this knowledge, are with Hegel self-evident and demonstrable principles. He studies human history as men of science do nature, — with the presupposition that it is *rational*, — the “*coming to itself*” of that human reason, which only “*finds itself*,” and finds itself *only*, when it finds God’s Reason immanent in all its knowledge, and this finding is mediated by “the Light of the World.” Assuredly he deserves the epithet that Novalis gave Spinoza, “the GOD-intoxicated,” *intellectually* at least, and not without a tinge of the emotional and mystical. This I know will bring the quick retort, “certainly, for he also was a pantheist.” I once supposed this current charge to be true. I now know it to be false. Not only do his words but also his whole system refute the charge. “The Absolute Substance of Spinoza certainly requires something to make it absolute Mind, and it is a right and proper requirement that GOD should be defined as absolute Mind,” that is, GOD is more than the pantheistic substance. Again, “GOD is more than life: He is Mind.”

Again, in criticising Spinoza, he says that *Substance*, as accepted by Spinoza as defining GOD, ‘is, as it were, a dark shapeless abyss, which devours all definite content as utterly null, and produces from itself nothing that has a positive subsistence in itself.’ . . . GOD is Substance. He is, however, no less the Absolute Person. That He is the Absolute Person, however, is a point which the philosophy of Spinoza never perceived; and on that side it falls short of the true notion of GOD which forms the content of religious consciousness in Christianity.*

Again, “Everything depends upon the absolute Truth being apprehended not merely as Substance, but as Subject.” As opposed to both deistic and atheistic views of the universe, he might deserve the name pantheist, refusing to know a world without GOD, but emphasising the truth that the world only has its being and truth in GOD. But pantheist in the sense of making all but mechanical parts of one stupendous substance or un-

* Hegel’s *Logic*, pp. 89, 91, and 236, *Wallace’s Translation*.

knowable power, without will and without conscious intelligence, he was not. The fundamental idea of his system (in his *Logic*) is that the unity to which all things must be referred is a spiritual, self-conscious principle, showing that all other categories used to explain the world are resolvable into this. Substance, Essence, Force, Law, Cause, are only partial expressions which find their truth in the highest category of self-conscious, self-determining Spirit.

The monks of the East once made a riot in Alexandria because Theophilus denied that God had a physical body. Hegel did not differ from Theophilus. Some of those who call him *pantheist* do not differ much from the rioting monks. Carlyle's retort was as sensible as the question, whether or not he was a pantheist: — "No! I am not a *pan*-theist, nor a *pot*-theist, either." Pantheist, in the Christian sense, I believe Hegel was. I have failed to find any view expressed in his *Logic* which derogates from the glory of God or the chief end of man. The intelligent, self-conscious, self-determining Subject embraces the universe and man without detriment either to the actuality or evanescence of the world or to the freedom and immortality of man. Hegel asserts that the maxim of Pantheism is the doctrine of the eternity of matter, that "from nothing comes nothing." [*Logic*, p. 143.] With this goes the doctrine of necessity. No system which does not include determinism and exclude freedom is really pantheistic. "Out of something comes everything by inevitable necessity," — this form includes the double falsehood of pantheism. But a more strenuous opponent of these errors cannot be found than Hegel. It is but the most absurd travesty of it which can define the Hegelian conception of God as "a self-evolving, impersonal process, which, after having traversed all the spheres of matter and mind, attains to a knowledge of its *God*-head in the speculative reason of man." God, as self-conscious, is not the end of an evolution, but all things created find their reality in Him. Men are not mechanical parts of God, nor do they lose their identity, though they *find themselves* truly, only in

Him. In proportion to their perfection they reflect Him, — become His created image. God in his manifestation as Creator is the maker of His image. He defines God to be the Pure Personality, whose self-conscious freedom is self-contained, not evolved, in time. The fleeting show (Schein) of temporal phenomena does not create nor destroy the self-consciousness of God or of man made in His image. That Hegel taught both the personality of God and the immortality of man is most strenuously maintained by the recognised exponent of Hegel's own view — Dr. Erdmann. By God, as Subject, not as pantheistic substance, he means the internal self-active nature, or the Essence which impels itself into phenomenal being. Man's immortality as well as his true being is in his organic, not mechanical, union with God. We do not charge pantheism upon the Biblical doctrine of creation, nor the absorption and loss of individual souls in CHRIST, upon S. John and S. Paul. God and man in CHRIST are freely spoken of as being in indissoluble union. It is no longer *we*, but CHRIST in us. God determines, *works in*, us to will and to do of His good pleasure. In the fulness of the completed work of creation and Redemption "God shall be all in all." There is what may be called a Christian pantheism and determinism. And other than this I do not find in Hegel. Nature and Man are treated of, not as discordant and irreconcilable with God, but as forming one organic whole in Him without losing their relative independent reality.

It may be worthy of notice that all English and American Hegelians accept these truths and also that they believe them to be Hegel's own teaching.* Hegel's sys-

* The English *Church Quart. Review*, January, 1884, contains a commendable exposition of *English Hegelianism and its Religion* by one who evidently is not an Hegelian. He says: "An impression may probably be felt that Hegelianism is unfavorable to distinct belief in the Divine Personality. As regards the English branch of the school such an accusation would be *wholly untrue*. The very principle of the system is that the Divine Mind is in unity with the human, and that both are personal." He quotes Professor Green's definition of personality as "the quality in a subject of being consciously an object to itself." Again, "The genuineness, not merely of Principal Caird's theism, but of his Christianity, is undoubted." Again, "Hegelianism gives us no cosmos of experience into which the mysteries and miracles of Christianity do not readily fall. . . . The whole connexion of God with the world involves for the Hegelian who believes in God a relation in His nature to

tem rightly understood, I believe, as Gabler maintained, assumes a self-conscious Absolute Reason *before* the world process, and, as Daub maintained, that in it reason is the organ, not the source of the knowledge of God, and as Hegel himself maintained, that Christianity is the absolute full and final religion for man.

Professor Flint of Edinburgh said that he regarded Hegel's method most valuable and helpful and his results very rich mines of thought, but that we must divorce it from Hegel's Pantheism, which he found in the very first pages of his *Logic*. Professor Harris [*Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, October, 1879] has briefly replied to the same charge made by Professor Flint in his *Anti-Theistic Theories*. He points out that Professor Flint misconceives the dialectic method of *The Logic*. Hegel's dialectic, like Plato's, is not a method of proceeding *from* a first principle which continues to remain valid, as, *e. g.*, a mathematical axiom does. The dialectic shows that the first principles which are hypothetically placed at the basis are inadequate, and that they *presuppose* as their ground and logical condition a concreter principle. The concrete principle is at once the logical presupposition and the chronological presupposition. The dialectical procedure is a retrograde movement from error back to truth, from the abstract back to the concrete and true, from the finite and dependent back to the infinite and self-subsistent. We are proceeding *towards* a first principle rather than *from* one when we study Hegel's *Logic*. Hence Hegel does *not* (as Professor Flint thinks) "profess to explain the generation of God, man, and nature from the pure Being that is pure nothing." He only shows that "pure Being," which is the highest principle according to many thinkers, is not so adequate as that of "Becoming," and this not so adequate as that which *has become* (or Being determinate), nor this as adequate as "infinite being," etc. He passes in review all the categories and discovers their defects,

humanity, which may truly be called a tendency towards incarnation." The same verdict must be rendered as to American Hegelianism by all who read the emphatic and devout maintenance of the staunchest Christian Theism in all the books that deserve the credit (or slur) of being Hegelian.

i. e., their presuppositions. This is merely a brief statement of Hegel's own interpretation of the categories. The first category of *mere blank empty Being* may be taken, as it often is, as a metaphysical definition of the absolute or of God. So with all the succeeding categories — each of which is fuller, richer, concreter, and therefore an approximately more adequate definition of God. But each of these is reached *not by* evolution from the lower one, but from the implications and presuppositions that the defects of the lower one exhibits. Indeed Hegel in the *Logic* [p. 244, *Wallace's Translation*] warns most explicitly and emphatically against this very misinterpretation that Dr. Flint makes. The *advance* from mere *being* is to be regarded as a "deepening of being in itself whereby its inner nature is laid bare, rather than as an issuing of the more perfect from the less perfect."

Each lower category *is*, and *is not*, till it is seen in relation with something higher and fuller. Each partial result, through its unsatisfactoriness, *seeks* the truth just beyond and yet implied in it. It is the unrest of the negative of each category or definition that impels the process onward till the last category of thought is reached — that of *The Idea* — Spirit, Self-conscious Reason, Self-determining intelligence — God. God is not the end or result of this process, but He is the real pre-supposition that lies back of and gives comparative worth to every stage of the process. S. Augustine's exclamation as to our souls might well be applied to each of these imperfect categories, *Being, Essence, Causality, Mechanism, and Life* — all but that of *Spirit*: —

Thou hast made us for Thee, O God! And our souls are restless till they rest in Thee.

Moreover, Hegel's doctrine of God is the Christian and not the deistic or pantheistic doctrine. God is the real concrete infinite *only* because of his essential Triune nature. In Him all finite beings *find* not *lose* their reality. As a category either of thought or of being, Hegel did not treat it as Spinoza did *substance*, — "as a mere *terminus ad quem*, — a lion's den in which all the tracks of

thought (and being) terminate, while none are seen to emerge from it. All finite beings emerge from it and exist, only being clothed *sub specie æternitatis*: "All things in God" does not mean "nothing but God." Self-realisation through self-sacrifice in a fuller life is the movement of Hegel's whole philosophy. This, Professor Caird says, he got from the study of Christianity. "Die to live" is the nearest possible expression of Hegel's philosophy in one sentence. To him, CHRIST's words, "he that saveth his life shall lose it, and he that loseth his life shall save it," is the first distinct expression of the very truth of the nature of all *Spirit*. The tracing of this through all the forms of Spirit is the whole work of his philosophy. The "more life and fuller that I want" is found only through dying unto the selfish self and living into the truer self. The Christian doctrine of God, as Triune, is the expression of this nature of God's self-revelation, including the element of self-sacrifice. "What Christianity teaches is only that the law of the life of Spirit—the law of self-realisation through self-abnegation—holds good for God as for man, and, indeed, that the Spirit that works in man to 'die to live' is the Spirit of God. For Hegel such a doctrine was the demonstrated result of the whole idealistic movement which is summed up in his *Logic*. So far, then, as Christianity means this, it was not in any spirit of external accommodation that he tried to connect his doctrine with it. Rather it was the discovery of this as the essential meaning of Christianity which *first enabled* him to recognise it as the ultimate lesson of the idealistic movement of thought." *

I have indeed barely touched upon the outskirts of the full refutation of the charge of pantheism. I have done less as regards the charge of his sublimating all the facts and doctrines of Christianity into mythical products. The fuller and juster vindication against both these charges demands an exposition of at least his *Logic* and his *Philosophie der Religion*. This I hope to attempt in reviews of Dr. Harris' forthcoming volume on the *Logic*, and Principal Fairbairn's on the *Philosophy of Religion*.

* Caird's *Hegel*, p. 218.

These prefatory remarks may be accepted at their pretended worth, as indicating results whose full vindication both truth and justice demand at the hands of Christian thinkers.

J. MACBRIDE STERRETT.

Book Reviews.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS.

The Apostolic Fathers. Part II. S. Ignatius and Polycarp. Revised Texts, with Introductions, Notes, Dissertations, and Translations. By J. B. LIGHTFOOT, D. D., D. C. L., LL. D., Bishop of Durham. 3 Vols. London: Macmillan & Co. 1885.

THE story of the Ignatian Epistles forms one of the most romantic episodes in the annals of literature. It is like reading Froissart or Villehardouin. It has a knight errantry and tournaments of its own. The most conspicuous among the champions on the Catholic side are Englishmen. It might with truth indeed be said that it is an Englishman who opens and it is an Englishman who closes the lists.

Among other benefits which the art of printing conferred upon Western Europe was the publication of a Latin text (A. D. 1498) of what was then generally received as the Epistles of Ignatius. The spirit of the Reformation had brought the dead past to life again, but to the dismay of the ultra Protestant element the earliest Christian literature pointed in a direction exactly the opposite to that in which things were drifting. It bore witness to the existence of a threefold ministry of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. It spoke of altar and sacrifice, and was thoroughly impregnated with the spirit of a sacramental Christianity. How was the testimony of such a witness to be met? Calvin confronted it in his characteristic way. He pronounced the whole Ignatian

literature to be an impudent forgery — nursery stories, than which nothing could be more foul (*nihil nœniis illis putidius*). The Lutherans were more moderate in their condemnation. They called attention to the fact that the *twelve* published letters (known as the longer recension) did not correspond with the references to Ignatius in Eusebius, who made mention of *seven* and not twelve Epistles; and they impugned the authority of the Ignatian Epistles by declaring that they have not come down to us in their original form, but are “adulterate and interpolated.” This the Jesuit Petavius (to his honor be it said) frankly admitted. And so the first stage of the controversy ended in a drawn battle, without positive victory on either side. Who shall determine what is genuine and what is interpolated? “To the critical genius of Ussher belongs the honor of restoring the true Ignatius!” It had been urged as a proof of the spuriousness of the Epistles of Ignatius that a quotation in Theodoret from the seven Epistles, as known to him and to Eusebius, did not appear in the twelve Epistles, commonly received. Now Archbishop Ussher found this very passage referred to in the quotations from S. Ignatius made by three English theologians (Robert Grosseteste, of Lincoln, A. D. 1250, John Tyssington, A. D. 1381, and William Wodeford, A. D. 1396), and was forced to the conclusion that there must be in existence in England a copy of Ignatius differing from that of the twelve letters generally received, and corresponding to the earlier text known to Eusebius and Theodoret. He set to work and instituted a careful search. His tact and diligence were rewarded by the discovery of two Latin copies of the *Epistles of S. Ignatius* (one in Caius Library at Cambridge, the other in the library of Montacute, Bishop of Norwich), in which the text corresponded with the quotations by the Fathers, and not with the disputed twelve Epistles. Ussher’s book appeared in the year 1644. Soon after Isaac Vossius (1646) discovered in the Medicean Library at Florence a Greek copy of six of the seven Epistles of Eusebius, corresponding closely with the Latin MSS. of Ussher. About half a century after the

missing *Epistle to the Romans* was unearthed in a MS. belonging to the Colbert Collection, and published in 1689 at Paris. And so the Greek text of the very seven Epistles of Eusebius was given to the world.

Here rested the controversy for a time. The seven shorter Epistles of Ussher and Vossius took the place of the twelve Epistles of the Long Recension as the genuine Epistles of Ignatius. But the Presbyterian and Reformed element was no better satisfied with the Shorter Recension than it had been with the Long. French Protestants and English Puritans leagued together, and set themselves in battle array. Milton in 1641, and Daille in 1666, brought their batteries to bear upon the position of Ussher and Vossius. Their attack called out Hammond and Pearson. "Pearson's *Vindiciæ Epistolarum S. Ignatii* was published in 1672. Compared with Daille's attack, Pearson's reply was as light to darkness. In England, at all events, his work seemed to be accepted as closing the controversy."

But the controversy was not yet closed. So far from this, an unexpected discovery in a Nitrian monastery furnished the occasion for its breaking forth anew, and that too in a most unexpected shape. Canon Cureton in 1845 published his *Antient Syrian Version of the Epistles of S. Ignatius to S. Polycarp, the Ephesians, and the Romans*. The existence of a Syriac version of the Ignatian Epistles had long been suspected. It was now put beyond question by the discovery of Archdeacon Tatham in 1842 of the Syriac version in a monastery in the Nitrian desert. But the Syriac version, so long looked for, contained only three Epistles, — to S. Polycarp, to the Ephesians, and to the Romans, — and these in a shorter form than either of the Greek and Latin texts. Canon Cureton, with natural fondness for its own fledgling, now gave a new turn to the controversy by zealously contending for his three Syriac Epistles as the only original and genuine Epistles of S. Ignatius. He was enthusiastically followed by Bunsen; the arguments produced were so strong and so irresistible that the learned Editor of the work now under review was disposed to

accept the conclusion, now arrived at, as final. The late Bishop of Lincoln strongly controverted the position of Cureton, and predicted that "the time would come when the *Seven Greek Epistles* would be generally accepted as genuine." That time has come. The discovery by Petermann of an Armenian version made in the V. century, from a Syriac version still older than itself, in which the seven Epistles are found with six others manifestly spurious, has largely modified the Curetonian position. The latest German Editor, Theodore Zahn [1876], "has dealt a fatal blow at the claims of the Curetonian letters." And Bishop Wordsworth's position regarding "the unity and priority of the seven Epistles as representing the genuine Ignatius" is now more than sustained by a work of which it is impossible to speak in terms too laudatory, as marking an epoch in English scholarship, and which the German critics admit must be accepted as a final settlement of the question. The seven shorter Epistles of Eusebius and Theodoret have, beyond all question, been proved to be the genuine Epistles of Ignatius.

It will be seen, then, what a gigantic work Dr. Lightfoot had before him when he proposed to review in detail the whole of the questions raised in the course of a controversy which has now lasted for some four hundred years. It is in itself no ordinary task to familiarise oneself with the literature of the controversy, but to go beyond this and make a critical examination of all the original documents; and not only to do this, with a most critical examination of every manuscript known to exist, but to edit the whole, furnishing us with a revised text of the whole of the Apostolic Epistles, and adding a commentary wherever any difficulty or obscurity was to be found, is a task which has never been surpassed by any of the greatest scholars in any age of the world. We have now placed before us the whole of the documents themselves in the original text, — Latin, Greek, Syriac, Coptic, and Arabic. We have (1.) first of all [vol. ii., sec. ii.] the Anglo-Latin version of "special interest for Englishmen, as being the product of the remarkable but pre-

mature literary revival which distinguished the XIII century, and as giving the Ignatian letters in the only form in which they were known in this country (England) till several years after the invention of printing."

(2.) We have the Syriac Epistles and Acts, edited by Dr. Wright. Here we have the three Epistles of the Curetonian abridgment, with the translation, with fragments of the unabridged version, and the Antiochene Acts of Martyrdom (probably the only genuine Acts at all worthy of the name).

(3.) We have the thirteen Greek Epistles of the Long Recension, which emanated from a forger writing in the name of the saint in the latter half of the fourth century. "These Epistles fall into four classes, according to their real or feigned chronology. Of these classes the first, fourth, and fifth are forgeries throughout, while the second and third are interpolated from the genuine Epistles."

(4.) We have the *Coptic Remains*. These contain the fragments of the Epistles in the Sahidic dialect to Hero and to the Smyrnæans, and the Roman Acts of Martyrdom in the Memphitic dialect, edited by P. le P. Renouf.

(5.) We have the *Arabic Extracts from Ignatian Letters* taken from the Paris MS. *Bibl. Nat. Supplement*, with an English translation appended.

(6.) In the first section of vol. ii. we have the *Genuine Epistles of S. Ignatius*, most carefully edited with notes and dissertations and the Acts of Martyrdom, text and notes with translations.

The first volume (published last) is intended to be an Introduction to the whole. This volume of 740 pages contains (1) a dissertation on Ignatius the Martyr, with notices relating to persecutions under Trajan from the tenth book of Pliny's Letters, from the Apology of Tertullian, from Eusebius, Chronicon Paschale, Acts of Sharbel and Barsamya. This dissertation is followed up (2) by a detailed and critical account of the manuscripts and versions of the three different forms and recensions in which the Epistles exist. We have added to this (3) all

the passages "in ancient authors in which mention is made of Ignatius and his writings, or in which they are quoted directly or indirectly." This is a most interesting and valuable chapter, and with its notes forms in itself no mean guide to the whole subject of Patristic Theology. The fourth dissertation (4) is on the *Spurious and Interpolated Epistles*. The fifth (5) is on *The Curetonian Letters*. It is wonderfully exhaustive and satisfactory. The sixth and last dissertation under this head is on *The Genuineness of the Seven Epistles of the Middle Recension*. "The investigations of the preceding chapters have cleared the ground. All rival claimants have been set aside; so that the seven Epistles, as known to Eusebius, and as preserved to us not only in the original Greek, but also in Latin and other translations, alone remain in possession of the field." The result of the examinations of the seven Epistles now made is that, "The text of the seven Epistles is assured to us on testimony considerably greater than that of any ancient classical author with one or two exceptions." Surely a most important result, in every way worthy of the *thirty* years' labors bestowed, and the unparalleled research by which it was brought about! It is not the marvellous erudition displayed that we most admire, as we are carried on by an enthusiasm which never flags from stage to stage of the great argument, but that marked feature of English University training (seen most of all in John Keble), the wonderful conscientiousness and the deep responsibility felt in the statement of results, extending even to the very letters of the name of the saint to whose honor this memorial has been consecrated, and to the exact day when he received the martyr's crown.

Where there is so much to call forth enthusiasm as well as to fill one with a feeling of the deepest humiliation, it is with unfeigned hesitation that we venture to offer any criticism, or to question any conclusion. We are heartily glad that the Bishop of Durham, by the publication of these volumes, has corrected any misconceptions which might have arisen out of his *Essay on the Christian Ministry*. It is possible, as that unfortunate

Essay proves, to be so fair in dealing with gainsayers, as to be unfair to one's own self in making one's position clearly understood. We are thankful to see, then, that the champion of Ignatius openly declares himself to be a believer in the doctrine of Episcopacy, which Irenæus held not as a speculation, but as involving a deep sacramental mystery. We cannot but regret, however, that the consent thus given is still accompanied by the modifying statement that "there is not throughout these letters the slightest tinge of sacerdotal language in reference to the Christian Ministry." The Bishop of Durham complains of Daillé because he argues against the Longer Recension, and in so doing throws dust in the eyes of people as if it were identical in all respects with the Shorter Recension. May we not urge, that since it was the rule in the Ignatian age for the Bishop to act as Consecrator, it is not a fair argument to take advantage of that fact to deny the existence of sacerdotal functions. The question is, did the Bishop in consecrating perform an episcopal or a priestly function; and to that question there can be but one answer. Ordination, not consecration, is peculiar to the Episcopal office. We regret that this same bias should have influenced the learned editor in dealing with the words *θυσιαστηρίον* and *εὐχαριστία* in a manner not consistent with his usual fairness and candor. In his comment upon the phrase *ἐντὸς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου* in the Epistle to the Ephesians [vol. ii., p. 43], he maintains that *τὸ θυσιαστηρίον* "does not here refer to a literal altar, meaning the LORD's table," but is used to signify "the enclosure in which the altar stands." Now we affirm that the reference made to the reception of the "bread of God," in this passage, proves that the word altar is here used as the equivalent of the table of the LORD, and that the argument is that if any man separate himself from the Bishop, the Priests, and Deacons who minister at the altar, he puts himself, thereby, out of the Communion of the Church, and has neither lot nor portion in the mediatorial function of the altar. Ignatius himself, in his Epistle to the Trullians (sec. 7), uses these very same words, and at the same time furnishes us

with the explanation of his meaning. He says when speaking of the heretical teachers of the time, "Be on your guard against such men. And this will surely be, if ye be not puffed up, and if ye be inseparable from JESUS CHRIST and from the Bishop and from the ordinances of the Apostles;" and then adds, "He that is within the altar is clean; but he that is without the altar is not clean; *that is, he that doeth aught without the Bishop and Presbytery and Deacons, this man is not clean in his conscience.*" To be clean, then, and to be within the altar, is to do things in conformity with the Bishop and the Presbyters and Deacons who minister as the representatives of the assembled people at the altar. In like manner Ignatius exhorts the Magnesians, saying, "Hasten to come together all of you, as to one temple, God; as to one altar, even to one JESUS CHRIST, who came from one Father, and is with One, and departed unto One." He says again to the Philadelphians [sec. 4], "Be ye therefore careful to observe the Eucharist (for there is one flesh of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, and one cup unto union in His blood: there is one altar, as there is one Bishop, together with the Presbytery and the Deacons my fellow-servants), that whatsoever ye may do, ye may do after God." Now surely, if words have any meaning, the altar is used here not for "the precinct of the altar" (in the Methodist meaning of the word), but for the holy table at which the Bishop and Presbyters minister, and the Deacons serve, not as "Deacons of meats and drinks, but servants of the Church of God." Ignatius in another place discriminates between the Eucharist and the prayer connected with it, and he maintains that it is necessary to a valid Eucharist that either the Bishop himself consecrate, or some one appointed by him. "Let no man be deceived," he says, in writing to the Smyrnæans, "Even the heavenly beings, the glory of angels, and the rulers visible and invisible, if they believe not in the blood of CHRIST (who is God), judgment awaiteth them also. But mark ye those who hold strange doctrine touching the power of JESUS CHRIST. They abstain from Eucharist and prayer, because they

allow not that the Eucharist is the flesh of our Saviour JESUS CHRIST, which flesh suffered for our sins, and which the Father of His goodness raised up. Let that be held to be a valid Eucharist which is under the Bishop, or one to whom he shall have committed it." Paschasius Rudbertus could not have said more than this; and if no Eucharist be "valid" except that "which is under the Bishop or one to whom he has committed it," it is surely a mere play upon words to say that in Ignatius "there is not the slightest tinge of sacerdotal language in reference to the Christian Ministry." Words are mere counters. We shall close with citing one passage from the Epistle to the Trullians in confirmation of our position: —

For, when ye are obedient to the Bishop as to JESUS CHRIST, it is evident to me that ye are living not after men, but after JESUS CHRIST, who died for us; that believing in His death ye might escape death. It is therefore necessary, even as your wont is, that ye should do nothing without the Bishop; but be ye obedient also to the Presbytery, as to the Apostles of JESUS CHRIST, our hope; for if we live in Him, we shall also be found in Him. And those, likewise, who are Deacons of the mysteries of JESUS CHRIST must please men in all ways. For they are not Deacons of meats and drinks, but servants of the Church of God. It is right, therefore, that they should beware of blame as of fire. In like manner let all men respect the Deacons as JESUS CHRIST, even as they should respect the Bishop as being a type of the Father, and the Presbyters as the Council of God, and as the College of Apostles. Apart from these it is not even the name of a Church.

GERMAN LITERATURE.

A History of German Literature. By W. SCHERER.
Translated from the Third German Edition by Mrs.
F. C. CONNYBEARE. Edited by F. MAX MÜLLER. 2
Vols. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

HISTORIES of literature are apt to be dull reading. If an unflagging interest is maintained in the perusal it is generally because of a prior appreciation of the knowledge to be acquired. Perhaps in no field of study has the weariness of labor been more felt than in that of German Literature. This has arisen from several causes.

But comparatively a small proportion of the immense riches it holds in poetic and prose forms, and embracing all the topics that touch human interest, has been translated, and a translation into English that clarifies the original text is a rare production. Again, German thinking or intellection is of such peculiar constitutional type, that even a knowledge of the language does not avail to put a foreigner into full rapport with its action.

This history is exceptionally interesting and satisfactory because of the style of the author. His familiarity with the English language and literature has given a directness and grace to his composition that are seldom found in German authors. In fact all the qualities necessary to successful labor in such a field are combined in Professor Scherer. He has gathered a prodigious mass of material, but he condenses, generalises, and arranges so effectively as to give a charm to his narrative. The work is not susceptible of close analysis. All we can do is to indicate the plan by which so large a space in history, including such a multitude of writers, has been set forth in so precise and ample a manner as to afford a clear idea of individual work and distinctive epochs.

The time covered is from the ancient German to the death of Goethe. He regards the history as separable into three periods each, of culmination and depression, and of about 600 years in duration. From the fact that there have been so few English translations even well informed scholars have been accustomed to begin their studies of German literature with Lessing. The Nibelungenlied, Hans Sachs, Paul Gebhart, and a few others are supposed to constitute all of any value that preceded the middle of the XVIII. century. Such names as Walther von der Vogelweid, Wolfram von Eschenbach, and Gottfried von Strasburg are scarcely known. Professor Scherer has given the mediæval writers full and appreciative notice, and it is surprising to find the character and extent of their work. One is made to feel that Heine, Lessing, Schiller, and others who have had our homage, have had, in precedent history, those who could contest their claim to exclusive genius. Hence this trans-

lation, because of its fulness, supplies a long-felt want, and because of its thoroughness and critical insight exacts confidence.

Professor Scherer follows a deliberately adopted theory in his treatment of authors and their works. His critical judgment is confined almost exclusively to the literary content. While notice is always taken of political and philosophic and religious conditions that necessarily modify literary production, yet he always institutes a purely mental standard by which he compares and concludes. His review of the periods of depression and elevation in the national mind, with their corresponding causes and factors, and his presentation of the characteristic features of distinctive movements, such as the classical, the chivalric, the romantic, storm and stress and enlightenment, are eminently satisfactory as compared with the work of other authors on the same topics. The haze and confusion of a medley have been succeeded by sharp portraiture and classification.

The last period that comes under review will prove most entertaining to the majority of readers. From Lessing to the end of Goethe's life is ground with which most students are somewhat familiar. Translators have wrought diligently on this field, and the younger German scholars, of English and American birth and culture, have, from international and æsthetic causes, been led to choose that period for examination and mental gymnastics.

One peculiarity of Professor Scherer's work is its freedom from biographical incident. He seems to have labored to keep himself out of reach of all extraneous influence in forming a judgment of an author. His ruling idea appears to be "art is for art's sake," and hence a critical opinion is of worth only so far as it conforms to that canon. There may be legitimate objections to such a rule, especially from an ethical point of view, but doubtless the mental quality and capacity of an author can be most accurately ascertained by the method.

So many suggestions are started in the review of this work which cannot be strictly analysed, that we fear to

enlarge lest we should tire our readers and expose ourselves to the charge of gratifying an individual whim in writing. We will therefore close by saying that no one, in any degree familiar with the productions of German Litterateurs previous to or during the régime of Goethe, can help being charmed and instructed by forming an intimate acquaintance with this work of Professor Scherer.

ELEMENTS OF MORAL SCIENCE.

The Elements of Moral Science. By NOAH PORTER, D. D., LL. D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1885.

THIS book on Moral Science does not present any new view of the subject, but Dr. Porter has gathered together what has been written on the Philosophy of Morals, and has thus made an able and excellent text-book for the use of colleges and scholars who wish to investigate the moral nature, and to see the system which may be deduced from that nature. The foundation of the system here presented is that of Bishop Butler. The Bishop did not intend to write a philosophy of morals, but he did investigate the nature of man, such as God made it, and he showed the life which man should live if he carried out in his daily actions the purposes of his Creator. Coming in contact, as he did, with the selfish system of Hobbes, his discourses were contributions to the subject which will never lose their value. President Porter presents substantially the same system in a scientific form. The parts all stand in their right relations; they are technically named; and they are rationally explained. He has also stated with great clearness the nature and office of conscience, which will give valuable aid to any one who has to deal with the conscience of man. He has, we think, made much clearer statements on this subject than Whewell in his *Elements of Morality*.

The part of the book which, we think, does not come up to the demand is the part on Christian ethics. We do not believe that there are properly any *Christian* ethics. Morality arises out of the nature of man. We mean by this that GOD made man, when He breathed into him the breath of life, such a being that morality must necessarily show itself. It was GOD's ordination when He created man a moral being. Christianity develops that nature, sheds light on duty and obligation, and above all it imparts strength to the will by which man can live the moral life. It is a mistake to suppose that Christianity creates morality. Christianity meets man who has a moral nature, and takes him by the hand and lifts him up. It regenerates him, and renews him, and brings that nature back to the condition in which it was when it came from the hands of its Creator. We wish that President Porter had been more emphatic on the identity of morality in the Book of *Genesis*, and in the Hebrew Commonwealth, and in the New Testament, and had shown how the great fundamental principles were the same, but that they were to be developed and applied, and that it was one of the offices of Christianity to do this.

This is what is wanted to create what Dale of Manchester calls a "Moral Revival." We want clear perceptions of morality, which President Porter's book gives us; but we want, more than all, the elevation of the moral tone in *religious* men, and the strength of will to be honest, truthful, pure, reverent, and obedient to law.

Every one having the care of souls will find a great advantage in mastering this treatise, as it will aid him in pointing out the path of duty and in dealing with the conscience.

PRIMITIVE CONSECRATION OF THE EUCHARISTIC OBLATION.

The Primitive Consecration of the Eucharistic Oblation, with an Earnest Appeal for its Revival. By the Rev. EDMUND S. FFOULKES, B. D., Vicar of S. Mary the Virgin, Oxford. New York: James Pott & Co.

MR. FFOULKES has attempted to show that it is through the instrumentality of the HOLY SPIRIT that the Eucharistic Elements are consecrated, and become for us the Body and Blood of CHRIST; and he therefore sets forth the Invocation as the most important part of the Prayer of Consecration. But in doing so he of course came in contact with the practice of the Church of England. We all know that in the Book of Edward VI. the Invocation preceded the Sacred Words in this form, "With Thy HOLY SPIRIT and Word vouchsafe to bless and sanctify these Thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son." Then follow the Sacred Words and the Oblation. But in the Second Book the Invocation was changed into this form, "grant that we, receiving these Thy creatures of bread and wine according to Thy Son our Saviour JESUS CHRIST's holy institution, in remembrance of His death and passion, may be partakers of His most blessed Body and Blood," and then follow the Sacred Words, but the Oblation is omitted. And he also comes in contact with the Liturgy of the Western Church, which is commonly called the Mass. The prayer which precedes the Sacred Words is as general as that which is now used in the English Prayer Book. It says,

Which Oblation do Thou, O GOD, we beseech Thee, vouchsafe to render in all respects blessed, approved, effectual, reasonable, and acceptable, that it may be made unto us the Body and Blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son our LORD JESUS CHRIST.

There is no mention made of the HOLY SPIRIT. But the Greek Liturgies, those of Basil, Chrysostom, and S. Mark, and also the Liturgy of Clement, in which there is sup-

posed to be an exhibition of the Church's worship in the II. century, maintain the order which is in the American Prayer Book, viz., the Sacred Words, the Oblation, and the Invocation of the HOLY SPIRIT.

Mr. Ffoulkes has endeavored to show that for eight centuries it was universally held that the Consecration was effected by the HOLY SPIRIT. He has brought to bear on this question an immense amount of reading. He has followed a somewhat graphic mode by commencing a journey and asking a chain of writers who encircle the Church. He has questioned 42 of the great doctors of the Church and gotten from each an opinion in favor of the doctrine that the HOLY SPIRIT consecrates.

In this view the work of Mr. Ffoulkes is one which may be read with great profit, and which will give an immense amount of information. It brings up one of the great questions of the day about the Liturgy on which we ought to have settled convictions.

But Mr. Ffoulkes has not contented himself with the question as it is stated above. He wishes to show more than this,—that in the Liturgy for seven centuries the Sacred Words were not used in the Prayer of Consecration, but were used "*only*" for the distribution of the Elements, and that the consecrating act was alone the work of the HOLY SPIRIT, who descended at the Invocation. He thinks that this is the unanimous testimony of the 40 doctors whom he has quoted. And he attempts also to show that the Roman Liturgy took its present form in the IX. century, and that previous to that time the Sacred Words had not been used in the Consecration, but only the Invocation and Oblation.

In all this Mr. Ffoulkes has undertaken to prove what will appear to be proof to none but himself. While all the 40 doctors bear testimony to the work of the HOLY SPIRIT, it is not so clear that any one of them bears the testimony which he claims. We shall hardly agree that Mr. Ffoulkes has the acuteness to discover an error which is universal in the Church, nor do we think that he will so convince the Universal Church of error that it

will remove the Sacred Words from the Prayer of Consecration, and use them only in the distribution of the Elements.

There are prominent points in this work, but notwithstanding this singular attempt to set aside the Sacred Words it may be profitably consulted for the very great amount of information which it gives concerning the function of the HOLY SPIRIT in the Eucharistic rite.

THE CONGO AND THE FOUNDING OF ITS FREE STATE.

The Congo and the Founding of its Free State. A Story of Work and Exploration. By HENRY M. STANLEY. 2 Vols. New York: Harper Brothers. 1885.

WE fail in terms to characterise these volumes. They set forth one of the great enterprises of the modern era, and open up vistas of future hope and progress that are limitless in extent and overwhelmingly magnificent in promise. To have been identified with such an undertaking either in its conception or its actualisation, directly or indirectly, should be a source of abiding satisfaction even if fame and remuneration were jealously withheld. Whatever of glory may gather around the crown of Leopold II., King of the Belgians, in perpetuating his throne and kingdom, of the honor arising from his connection with the grand and unique scheme in behalf of human elevation, he can never be deprived. It has gone into the world's history, and on one of its most brilliantly illuminated pages his name will forever stand glorified.

Measured by customary standards, Stanley might not be called great. Yet if we compare the lauded feats of statesmanship, and their results, with the fruits of opening up a continent of barbarism to the leavening and transforming influence of Christian civilisation, how the isolated and narrow efforts of the parliamentarian or

senator shrivel in dimension! In the one case moral forces are started that will never end, and must become large factors in developing the world's history. The Africa of a quarter of a century hence will only afford a glimpse of what the *Dark Continent* will be when the moral and political power of Europe and America has unimpeded action upon a population, now partially lifted out of original savagery, and when the scientific, commercial, and industrial methods of civilisation have wrought their miracles upon the land itself. The Church and the Christian nations of the world properly look for Africa's redemption, instrumentally, in the multiplication of radiating centres of civilising power.

The two volumes contain all that is known of the history of the Congo territory, and is a thrilling, progressive narrative of the work, incidents, and varying fortunes of the enterprise. To abbreviate the story would be an injustice to the author and explorer, and might stifle a curiosity that otherwise would ripen into close examination and interested study. But it may be well to note other features of the enterprise. African exploration, notwithstanding all the *éclat* elicited by the work of Livingstone, was not welcomed with enthusiasm by those who had the intelligence, the wealth, and the character that Stanley might reasonably have looked to for co-operation. The black man and his Continent seemed to be fore-doomed to neglect, and the present interest, in the future Christianisation and civilisation of Africa, is largely due to the wise forecast, broad philanthropy, and heroic labors of these two men. Men of the future, with less of self-denial and fortitude, and with more of selfish greed and ambition, will doubtless take up their work and more largely and ungrudgingly receive the plaudits of the world.

In the preface to these volumes Stanley alludes to the opposition against which he had to contend in inaugurating the enterprise. Quixotism was hurled at him from all quarters, and, smarting under a charge which he knew to be the child of ignorance rather than of malice, he regretfully says:—

In 1878 that word was flung in my teeth several times, especially by Manchester men. If I delivered a speech or a lecture, or wrote a letter about the probabilities of success attending a judiciously conducted enterprise in Africa, a Manchester editor, or Manchester merchant, almost invariably taunted me with being a dreamer, a 'Quixotic journalist,' or a mere 'penny-a-liner.' I do not quarrel with the phrases, but I certainly deprecate the uses to which they were applied. The charge of Quixotism, being directed against my mission, deterred many noble men in Manchester from studying the question of new markets, and deepened unjustly their prejudices against Africa and African projects.

But no opposition could dampen his zeal, stifle his hope, or daunt his courage. In the midst of his mortification and disappointment he could bravely assume the rôle of a prophet and say: —

I feel convinced that the question of this mighty water-way will become a political one in time. As yet, however, no European power seems to have put forth the right of control. Portugal claims it because she discovered its mouth; but the great powers — England, America, and France — refuse to recognise her right. If it were not that I fear to damp any interest you may have in Africa, or in this magnificent stream, by the length of my letters, I could show you very strong reasons why it would be a politic deed to settle this momentous question immediately. I could prove to you that the power possessing the Congo, despite the cataracts, would absorb to itself the trade of the whole of the enormous basin behind. This river is, and will be, the grand highway of commerce to West Central Africa.

The Appendix more fully reveals the political and commercial status of the enterprise after the termination of the active exploration. It embraces the following papers: The Commercial Basin of the Congo, as described by the author before the Berlin Conference, Protocol No. 9; Declarations exchanged between the United States of America and the International Association of the Congo; Convention between the Empire of Germany and the International Association of the Congo; Declarations exchanged between the Government of Her Britannic Majesty and the International Association of the Congo; Convention between the Netherlands and the International Association of the Congo; Convention between the Government of the French Republic and the International Association of the Congo; Convention between Portugal and the In-

ternational Association of the Congo; Declarations exchanged between the Belgian Government and the International Association of the Congo, Protocol No. 10; The General Act of the Berlin Conference. Hereby it may be seen that the work had assumed an importance sufficient to awaken the interest of the nations, and some, that could not be aroused at the outset from indifference, now became suddenly and strongly seized with the ambition of territorial and commercial extension. This, however, is not to be regretted, if only the "International Association of the Congo" can grandly complete its mission for Africa and mankind. There is a large field opened by possible political and commercial international relations to this enterprise, but we shall not enter into the complicated discussion. There are, however, patent duties that should be recognised, and there are signs of strife and greed and jealousy that should, for shame's sake, be speedily abated.

The work is finely illustrated with over one hundred full-page and smaller cuts, showing the methods and progress of the work in its advancing stages, the diversified scenery of the region traversed, and the dress and appearance of the tribes. It has also two large maps and several smaller ones, so that by the aid of the illustrations and maps some conception may be gained of the environment of the hero and explorer in his venture of life for the world's enlightenment and profit.

THE SEVEN GIFTS.

The Seven Gifts. Addressed to the Diocese of Canterbury in His Primary Visitation. By EDWARD WHITE BENSON, Archbishop. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1885.

THIS Primary Charge of Archbishop Benson on the sevenfold gifts of the HOLY SPIRIT is a timely and valuable contribution to the literature of the present day; not so much, perhaps, on account of anything especially

profound or original, as for the excellent judgment displayed in the selection of topics and illustrations, and for the clearness and vigor of their presentation. In arrangement it is simple, being divided into seven distinct sections or chapters, the greater part of which were delivered at different places. The reasoning throughout is calm and dignified, without any assumption of superior authority; and no one of ordinary intelligence can read even one of the sections without being impressed with the underlying spiritual earnestness and sound common sense of the writer.

The key-note of the whole performance, so to speak, is struck in the opening paragraph of the *Proem*, in the words, "A living Church must show the gifts of the SPIRIT;" a most certain truth, and presented thus by the *Primus* of the Anglican Communion, it is most significant and satisfactory. It contains virtually both a challenge and a rebuke to that spirit of captious criticism and pharisaic denunciation of *formalism* and *spiritual deadness*, so long echoed and reëchoed by the enemies of that Communion in all its branches. "Every anxious heart," he says, "will turn when a system has been long established, and in operation, to the inquiry, Are we living the life that our beautiful forms imply? Is the Society vigorous and active? Full of sap, full of light, full of fire? CHRIST redeemed indeed the individual soul forever; but He also founded a People in the world, a people whose national characteristic is said by one Apostle to be 'eagerness for good works,' and for such good works as cover the whole field of thought, life, business, and affection."

While strictly conservative in spirit, and anxious to strengthen the good things which remain, the Archbishop writes as one fully alive to the legitimate demands of modern progress. "We must be," he says, "to every age as it comes modern, if we are to perpetuate the Powers of Christian life and work. The Apostles manifestly understood their own age not only in the East, but throughout Europe, better than any men before or since. Understanding that, they understood what was

coming. If the Church be Apostolic, it must be so not merely by hereditary connection, but by spiritual conformity. If the Church is the Church of the Incarnation, she is the Church of that progressive Humanity with which CHRIST is always one, and of which He is the abiding pattern. If the Church is the Church of the HOLY GHOST, she is the Church of an onward-leading, self-revealing Divine Spirit. And her unchangeable institutions are by that very character ceaselessly self-developing."

And in close connection with these weighty utterances, we find a noble plea for the full maintenance of the Cathedral system, not only as furnishing a centre for Diocesan life and vigor, — "to keep alive the distinctive doctrines of the Church, as at a spiritual focus," — but as a powerful agency in stimulating and advancing sound learning, especially in theology and sacred music.

Palaces of light,
Whither as to their fountains other stars
Repairing, in their golden urns draw light.

The whole argument in fact, at which we can merely glance, has also a very pertinent application to our own necessities and prospects. It is sometimes stated, bitterly stated, and not altogether without reason, that the Church here as a body cares but little for learning. Certainly, there is comparatively but little deep and thorough scholarship among us. Nor can it well be otherwise, so long as matters remain as they are. The inexorable demands of pulpit and pastoral labor prevent, in the great majority of cases, those who have ability and a desire for the acquisition of learning from doing more than becoming respectably *up* in certain departments. They can never hope to do the work, or acquire the attainments possible to "learned leisure," which the incumbents of Cathedral Stalls in some marked instances enjoy.

Under *Σύνεσις* — the Spirit of Understanding — the position and duty of the Priesthood are most nobly stated, and valuable directions are given for Church Wardens,

and other officers. "The Priest remembers (if he is a true Priest) that the Priesthood of CHRIST must be represented in him. Far beyond any specific act which it is his to do, as an organ of CHRIST's Body, he must ever be mindful how great a portion of CHRIST's Priesthood consists in revealing God. He is set in His place to make God known: known freshly to those who know Him not, better and better known continually to those who do. The Priest defies and defiles his office if he does not by his sermons and his teachings and his catechisings in public, by his private conversations and his gentle instructions, bring God home to every mind, teach every spirit to pray, and remove the difficulties which stand between each soul and its God." Weighty words these, and worthy of the source from which they emanate!

Further on in the same division there is another subject of immense practical importance touched upon,—the delivering of lectures on Church History by able men, both clerical and lay. Times are changing, and none too soon, in the desire for ecclesiastical information. The general ignorance has long been profound, even among people otherwise well informed, and it has been anything but "*bliss*" or a benefit. More than one reflecting mind has found therein a producing cause of Christian divisions, and perpetuated estrangements; and in faithful earnestness of spirit have offered up the prayer, "Let there be light!" In one of the Pitt Street Chapel Lectures, delivered in Boston some years ago, by leading ministers of the different Protestant bodies, one reverend gentleman said, "We forbear to sail even coastwise on the dark waters of ecclesiastical history." But why this evident fear? For what reason were those waters so dark to the reverend lecturer? Did he dread the Scylla of popery? or the Charybdis of prelacy? But all this sort of thing is rapidly passing away. Such publications as Clark's Anti-Nicene Library are a marked, and to the Churchman an encouraging, sign of the present *drift*. Nothing certainly under the *σύνεσις* of the Blessed Spirit will help more in bringing present misun-

derstandings and divisions to an end; and further the realisation of that prayer of the Church's Divine Head, "That they all may be one; as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they may be one in us: that the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me!"

In the third division, *Βουλή* — the Spirit of Counsel, there is a strong argument for consilia action, including a wisely regulated lay representation — yet all placed under the informing and guiding power of the HOLY SPIRIT. And in the fourth division, *Ἰσχύς* — the Spirit of Strength, there is also a noble statement of the Spirit's agency in developing the Christian character through Confirmation rightly received, and followed up by supplies of grace sought and obtained; and also a most wise and salutary caution against extreme views and practices with regard to "Fasting Communion." "Let us not corrupt Reverence into Superstition by a fierce insistence upon Fasting Communion. In itself it is a natural and pure form of Reverent Devotion for those capable of it: always remembering that it is a means to an end, and that if it spoils temper, health, or home-peace, it is spoiling religion."

Thus, while the necessity for the enlightening and guiding power of the HOLY SPIRIT is never lost sight of, the comments and directions assume an intensely practical form in dealing with the various phases of churchly, social, and business life. In a word, the work does honor to the man, and to the exalted station which he occupies.

THE BLOOD COVENANT.

The Blood Covenant. By H. CLAY TRUMBULL, D. D.
New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1885.

IN this book the author has collected a mass of facts concerning various bloody rites and ceremonies, more or less connected with the sealing of a covenant of friendship between individuals or nations, and between God

and man. There is a great deal of sameness in the numerous instances cited. This fact, together with the disgusting nature of many of the ceremonies, makes the thorough reading of the book palling and wearisome.

The book, however, evinces a good deal of painstaking research, and has a value in showing the wide-spread prevalence in all ages and countries of the idea that life, with all its physical strength, intellectual vigor, and courageous instincts, can be transmitted from one to another through the mutual transfusion of the blood. Such a universal prevalence of the same ideas and of very similar rites and usages could hardly be explained except on the ground of a tradition handed down from one original source.

The author justly observes in his preface that "no portion of the volume is of more importance than the Appendix." This not only supplies additional facts (of which already there was a superabundance), but serves the far better purpose of correcting false impressions that might have been received from the Lectures. The author himself in the preface apologises for the defective arrangement of his material and for the lack of any definite end or aim. "With the pressure of other work upon me the choice was between hurrying it out in its present shape and postponing it indefinitely." "Whatever theory shows itself in their present arrangement is simply that which the facts themselves have seemed to enforce and establish in their consecutive disclosure."

The general impression derived from a perusal of the Lectures would seem to be that the author was furnishing evidence in proof of the natural origin and growth of sacrifice; that it arose from a mere human ceremony, by which men entered into a covenant of lasting friendship with each other, — a ceremony based upon the natural observation that the blood was essential to life.

This, however, results from hasty writing, and the want of a thorough digesting of material, for we find such an impression corrected in the Appendix.

All the world over from the beginning, primitive man, in the lowest state of savagery, and in the highest stage of civilisation, has been

accustomed to recognise the truth, and to employ the symbolisms of speech, which are in accordance with the latest advances of physiological and psychological science, and with the highest spiritual conceptions of Biblical truth in our nineteenth Christian century.

When the entire history of man's outreaching after an inter-union of natures with his fellow man and with his God is fairly studied, in the light thrown on it by the teachings of the Divine-human Being who gave his own blood for the consummation of the longed-for Divine-human inter-union, it will be more clearly seen whether it was the relation of the primitive rite itself, or the study of that relation, which was very superficial. . . . The recognition of this truth is at the basis of all forms of sacrifice in all the ages. And this wonderful attainment of primitive man everywhere, we are asked to accept as man's mere natural inheritance from the sensory quiverings of his ancestral tadpole!

SOME LATE AMERICAN NOVELS.

The Late Mrs. Null. By FRANK R. STOCKTON. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1886.

The Tale of a Lonely Parish. By F. MARION CRAWFORD. New York and London: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

Indian Summer. By W. D. HOWELLS. Boston: Ticknor & Co. 1886.

John Bodewin's Testimony. By MARY HALLOCK FOOTE. Boston: Ticknor & Co. 1886.

Valentino. By WILLIAM WALDORF ASTOR. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1886.

MR. FRANK STOCKTON has a place as a writer of short stories which should satisfy even a vaulting ambition. Such an ambition is far from Mr. Stockton, if we may accept as evidence the air of taking his work and himself humorously which has given light-heartedness and unstudied drollery to all he has done hitherto. But that strange, yet quite comprehensible human desire to conquer approbation in a fashion other than that in which one is perhaps almost over-familiarly aware that the hand-clap and "Bravo" await him, may as reasonably be responsible for an impulse which "o'erleaps itself" and falls on the other," as vaulting ambition. And an impulse of this sort seems to have pricked on the writer of *The Late Mrs. Null*.

The title stands for a conceit of the sort we have learned to expect from Mr. Stockton, and the conceit we should like greatly if the author had used it in his accustomed manner as the basis of one of his short *fantasias* upon every-day life, ending with the familiar *crescendo* of an unanswerable question, or the *diminuendo* of a surprising anti-climax. But beaten out thin to make a novel, it is found to be, after one has had his laugh at the idea, the reverse of interesting. Mr. Stockton's original and wholly charming tricksiness of spirit pleases everybody in short stories. The brief flights of his licensed fancy can never fail to be amusing, for the reader can always be depended upon to follow the author in the necessary mood of credulous sympathy through a dozen magazine pages, and to enjoy the shock of surprise when on the last page he finds the flight has come to an end with jouncing and disrespectful abruptness. But when Mr. Stockton asks such a whimsey as would bear him prosperously on one of these short-story flights to support him while, on adventurous wing, he sails the novelist's long and difficult voyage it inevitably breaks down. It must be admitted that though Punch and Judy is entertaining, it would be tiresome if presented in five acts, and while apologising to Mr. Stockton for the comparison, we are forced to say that his excellent fooling is much more pleasing when of Punch and Judy brevity, especially when the fact is considered that his people are, of intent, often parodies more or less solemn upon reality, and cannot be expected to maintain the reader's interest throughout a novel. The personages of *The Late Mrs. Null* are not impelled to their actions by anything like an inner necessity of character. The author is plainly responsible for their absurdities, and we imagine him pulling the wires that set them performing the least reasonable of their deeds with the straight face of an old showman.

It would not be fair to convey the impression that only one of Mr. Stockton's favorite conceits cuts its humorous capers and comes to its laughable and unexpected end in this volume. The writer has naturally felt

that he must provide material sufficient for more than one short story for his novel; and half a score of national tales are told in the course of the book. But any of them would be the better for separate telling, and all of them together do not make a work likely to be mistaken for a novel. The author would very likely be the first to disclaim this dignity for his book, since he refrains from characterising *The Late Mrs. Null* on his title-page. Yet he cannot avoid the impeachment of having put forth 437 pages of fiction, and whatever may have been his purpose, a book of that bulk constitutes a somewhat serious performance; and the reader is entitled to expect it to render something like an account of itself.

It might fearlessly be said that *The Late Mrs. Null* is a love-story, for it deals wholly with the heart-affairs of a young gentleman of fortune and leisure; but it would be very difficult to construct a heart, or a hero in whom that heart should reside, more completely uninteresting. Lawrence Croft, who is the central figure of the book, in the sense that the story is told from his standpoint, is one of the most thorough-going prigs in fiction. The author feels his priggishness, — indeed, the whole tale hinges upon his priggish consideration of his love, — but as he is his hero he cannot very well make fun of it; and on the other hand, whatever he may have intended, he fails to win the reader to sympathy with Croft's priggish passion. A love affair which the reader follows neither with compassion for its genuine heart-throbs nor with smiles for its comic misery is in a nearly fatal case; and one's concern about Lawrence Croft's foolish and unmanly balancings and hesitations regarding Miss Roberta March is, after a few pages, of the yawning description. The capital negro-talk and the local color (the scene is laid in Virginia) rescue the first part of the book from absolute dulness; and the latter part is lively with incident of the most unexpected and Stocktonesque variety. But the novel sags, as long stretches of rope do, in the middle. The love affair of Croft, even if it were matter warm enough to carry the reader with it, would tax the patience of a professional devourer of

novels, for Mr. Stockton does not give this curious young man the opportunity of a dozen sentences with the object of his adoration in the course of the book. One's interest in a passion so ill-bested would flag for lack of food, though the hero's love were as hot and eager as it is cold and doubtful.

Besides Croft and Miss March there is a quite numerous company of characters. Junius Keswick, who has been engaged to Miss March, plays the part of Croft's rival with magnanimous gentlemanliness. His cousin, Miss Annie Peyton, assumes the amusing disguise of Mrs. Null in order to avoid being forced by her aunt, Mrs. Keswick, into a marriage with Junius, who is the old lady's nephew; and she carries out her masquerade with a sprightly success which in the end wins for her the questionable joy of a union with Croft. Mrs. Keswick is the most fortunately drawn character in the book. She has many of the qualities of that familiar convention of the stage: the shrewish old lady. But she has many others in addition, of Mr. Stockton's own discovery. She is a happy find. The incident of her pretended proposal to a lover of former days, which terminates the book, is decidedly the best thing in it. It illustrates the felicity and complete mastery with which Mr. Stockton always deals with a subject wholly in the range of his delightful talent. The light which the successful treatment of this incident throws back upon all the pallidly depicted love of young men and young women, which has preceded it, exhibits at once the author's power and his weakness. It may seem perverse to accept a writer who is in a sense of the humorous order upon serious terms. It is easy to conceive Mr. Stockton laughing in his sleeve while he set forth the queer doings of his queer people, with a solemn farce; and more easy to fancy him smiling at a criticism of his book that takes it in earnest. But love, it must be said, is an extremely serious business, and as love is in one way or another the subject of *The Late Mrs. Null*, it is fair to hold Mr. Stockton responsible for his treatment of it. We could more than readily pardon him for not taking the

love of his people in very dead earnest if he would take it wholly humorously. He does neither ; and the result, we regret to say, — because Mr. Stockton is capable of such admirable work when securely upon his own ground, — the result is trivial, and in the main uninteresting.

If novel writing were an exact science Mr. Marion Crawford would certainly have found, as Mr. Stockton would have found, a law set down in any treatise upon the science, to the general effect that an incident cannot by dint of the stoutest bolstering be made to hold up a novel. If Mr. Crawford were an architect he would not make bold to practise that noble art without a knowledge of the resisting strength of building materials, and some acquaintance, for instance, with the principle of the arch and with the weight which an arch of a certain span might be expected to support. But he does not hesitate to build his latest novel in a way in which he would never build a house. A house constructed upon the principle of *The Tale of a Lonely Parish* would crumble about the heads of the occupants in a very lively fashion; for, the only foundation provided being a rather stale incident, a superstructure is reared whose bulk demands the solidest sort of base. The tale naturally topples, but it does not fall. It may be that good workmanship on the superstructure causes us to occasionally overlook the bad masonry of the foundation. However that is, *The Tale of a Lonely Parish* stands with more firmness than anything in the manner of its construction would lead one to expect.

In this tale Mr. Crawford has landed his cosmopolitan talent upon English soil, for the nonce ; and we have a good, old-fashioned, thrilling, melodramatic English story. The story is not much, as has been said, but what there is of it would win Miss Braddon's approval. If we say that it tells how a broken-spirited, charming woman seeks refuge in a rural village ; how, when she has begun to find peace here, her trouble returns to plague her in the form of her husband, escaped from Portland prison, where he is serving a sentence for forgery ; how the Squire's dog helps the husband to his death and the

Squire to the hand of his widow, we have told the essentials of the tale and given a hint of its possibilities in the way of stirring narrative. It is clearly not an entirely new subject, but it is not an uninteresting one, and Mr. Crawford treats it with the mechanical skill which comes with practice in novel writing. The story is, for the most part, distinctly well told, and always in a style of easy narrative. But there is three or four times too much of it. Being, in fact, matter sufficient for no more than a novelette at best, the little story that Mr. Crawford has to tell rather loses itself, and the reader, in striving to swell itself to the proportions of a novel. There are properly only three necessary characters, — the wife, the convict-husband, and the Squire, but the plan of the book causes the writer to push forward characters naturally subsidiary into undue prominence, as, for instance, in the case of John Short. Short is capitably done, but there is no special need for his presence in the story on any terms, and his elaborately detailed presentation is a kind of artistic impertinence, whatever one may admit as to the author's need to fill a given number of pages. It must be understood that *The Tale of a Lonely Parish* is extremely interesting in spite of its faults of construction. Judicious skipping can do much for a tale if it have somewhere a backbone of genuine human interest, and when the real fibre of the book is reached and the padding forgotten it will be found that Mr. Crawford has told a good story excellently well. The story-telling talent this writer certainly has in singular and abundant measure, and if his blue pencil — that homely but priceless registrar of autorial repentance — were as merciless as his pen is fluent, we should have from him oftener completely admirable examples of the art of pure narrative, — that art which we are gradually losing in gaining so much else from the novelists.

We do not know why the critic should hesitate to call *Indian Summer* the most wholly charming thing that Mr. Howells has given us. It is true that he has now written a considerable number of volumes, which may stand as so many protests against such a judgment, but

there is not an *Indian Summer* among them. It is not a book to analyse; it is a book to enjoy. To inquire why this light, slenderly-plotted, gay, wise story satisfies every sense with which we taste good literature would be as impertinent as to challenge the source of a flower's perfume. We owe Mr. Howells our best gratitude for this excursion out of his present manner, for this return to the old manner, of which surely no right spirit could ever have too much. No doubt ten persons have read *A Modern Instance* for one who has read *Out of the Question*, *Private Theatricals*, *A Foregone Conclusion*, or even *A Chance Acquaintance*. If it were the other way we believe that Mr. Howells would have ten times as many unreserved admirers. Admirers with reservation he has in abundance, but it would be extremely difficult to produce at this day any reader knowing him solely through his later books who has for his writing the rare, complete enthusiasm which possessed those who discovered his genius in his earliest work. There was not much seriousness about *Out of the Question* or *Private Theatricals*; if there was a problem concealed in either it was, as one might say, a society problem rather than a social one. But there was unstinted "sweetness and light," a happy philosophy, a subtle, delicate, unapproachable humor, a style that touched all these qualities with its charm, and was itself the best of charms. It may seem wrong-headed and whimsical to wish that Mr. Howells had gone on producing work of this character, for clearly we should, in that case, have lost *Silas Lapham*, and perhaps even *The Undiscovered Country*. But the wish is born of the sincere conviction that such work is most congenial to his talent.

When therefore, as in *Indian Summer*, he takes his old delightful manner down from its shelf, dusts it and sets it to playing again before us, we cannot choose but rejoice. Time has mellowed his art, and what he gives us is the same as before, but with rich additions. His hero is older than the conscientious, admirable young men of the early novels, and the writer's outlook upon life is that of a man older than the author of *A Chance*

Acquaintance, but the increased age of both is the reverse of a loss, and we fancy that, like Imogene, no one will like Colville the less for having lived past certain things, or even for his rheumatic twinges and his sleepiness after evening parties. Colville is, to our sense, one of the most thoroughly likable figures in fiction. His humorous goodness, his serious honesty of purpose, — which for not the first time in human history accomplishes its aims less straightforwardly than its owner intends, — his nobility of heart, his tireless amiability of spirit, above all, if we may venture it, his habit of taking life with all earnestness, yet with a drollery which gives to all living a pleasant savor, — these excellent qualities make up such a man as any of us might be glad to know, and such a man as one might be willing to have his sister marry. Colville, who is willing to marry Imogene Graham for conscience' and for pity's sake, in the event marries Mrs. Bowen for Indian summer love's sake; and perhaps the book has not much more plot than this. But the slightness of the plot, which we have made cause of complaint touching *The Late Mrs. Null* and *The Tale of a Lonely Parish*, would be the last ground for an indictment against *Indian Summer*. This novel is deliberately planned upon a slight scheme, and all its parts are in admirable harmony with that design, — a different thing from planning a novel upon a large scheme and buttressing it weakly.

Mr. Howells's art in painting womankind had never ampler opportunity than in this volume. Mrs. Bowen, Imogene Graham, and that dainty little woman, Effie Bowen, are as complete and characteristic creations as he has given us. Imogene's romantic girlishness, her womanly self-abnegation, her ingenuousness, her simplicity, and her ignorant culture are mingled without confusion, and with the consent of the reader's understanding, in a thoroughly real young girl. Mrs. Bowen is less directly rendered by a series of delicate touches, but she is not less successful; while Effie, after Colville, is the triumph of the book. She is a child of a sort not altogether common in America unfortunately, — the very

pink of propriety, of obedience, of all the childish virtues. Her friendship with Colville one would say is as prettily done as anything of the kind in fiction, if there were anything quite like it in fiction. The story ends as the old-fashioned reader would have it. That is the manner in which Mr. Howells sometimes refuses to have it; but when it is so it is because life too would not have had it so.

Mrs. Foote has perhaps not received the attention as a novelist which her work deserves because she occupies already so high a place as an artist; and the public indulges the curious and unwarrantable habit of grudging preëminence to one person in two arts. But Mrs. Foote's fiction is not a whit below her admirable achievements in magazine illustration, and it seems to be gaining steadily in breadth and power. We should certainly be perplexed to name an American novel of the last year, by an author whose place is lower than the highest, which merits more unreserved praise than *John Bodewin's Testimony*. We had a taste of Mrs. Foote's quality in *The Led-Horse Claim* and in some earlier tales; but the volume under review is easily the most important attempt in fiction which she has given us, and altogether the most excellent and agreeable. The scene is laid in Colorado, and in the hands of one who knows the ground as well as this writer and is gifted with her charming faculty of description, that is an advantage to begin with. It is an advantage, however, with which the story could dispense, if necessary; for the gist and heart of the novel — its inner meaning, might be as successfully played out before us with the Andes for background as the Rockies. *John Bodewin's Testimony* is by no means one of those unfortunate books in which the scene is all scenery, and the characters little more than scene-shifters. It is a thoroughly vital novel, with a sound excuse for being. A serious and worthy subject, firmly grasped, and treated with grace, tact, and vigor, ought certainly to give us good fiction; and when an individuality at once large, earnest, and stimulating is added, to fuse the whole, the result is a creation to be

thankful for. We do not believe that Mrs. Foote burdens herself with views about novel-writing. She apparently writes out of her heart and trusts the spirit to lead her aright. She treats her art with honesty and respect, she describes people and things as she sees them, and does not trouble herself, we should say, with theories about the Real and the Ideal. On the other hand, accepting *John Bodewin's Testimony* as evidence, she is incapable of an unworkmanlike performance, and could not be guilty of such an artistic perfidy as is implied, for instance, in the lamentable practice of putting a conscienceless pen to paper and letting too-fluent ink flow forth upon a roving commission,—the best of ways to make manuscript, and the most questionable of ways to make a novel.

John Bodewin's Testimony is, in fact, entirely apart from its great charm, a strictly artistic piece of workmanship, in the sense that the structure of the story is faithfully and wisely framed, and holds together in all parts. The reader has a sense of security in being in the hands of such a writer; the feeling that the fashioner of a story so justly planned cannot suffer it to belie itself at any point. The characters he knows must be true to the law of their inner selves; and, though they must take events as they come to them, and accept their influence as we all do in the world, the reader is sure that the author cannot permit herself to juggle with these events, or, with the purpose of upholstering fate for her people, shape them otherwise than as they would be shaped in life. It would be a pity to blunt the interest of those who may take up the book by rehearsing the story here. Its character will be sufficiently indicated if it is said that it is a novel of conscience, with a romantic setting and treatment. Problems of conscience are so little known to recent American fiction, and romance so uncommon an accompanying atmosphere, that *John Bodewin's Testimony* will justly attract attention on these accounts. The field is a difficult one, and the perils in entering upon it are rather more numerous than the encouragements. The most serious danger, perhaps, is that,

the reader's interest depending upon the balancing of the characters, the warring splittings of all sorts. It is curious to see how Mrs. Foote's romantic treatment of conscience saves her from this instance. Treated analytically, our heroine's innate skill could rescue her from the strait which Bodewin puts upon her. The closing chapters is dictated by a sympathy which is too much like hair-splitting sympathy with it. Mrs. Foote is very ready to make such a man answer to us. It is the tendency of such people to body themselves and fall away into qualities. Bodewin, however, is as recognisable a fellow-being as we are. In all ways a notably successful character. Hilbury, Babe, and Craig are equally well executed. *John Bodewin's Testimony* is a serious, admirable achievement.

Mr. Astor writes *Valentino* out of acquaintance with the time at which it is supposed to take place. He is familiar with the bare detail of the history of the epoch, the customs, manners, and character of the time, but he introduces for us their very port and spirit. In our time, we live in the day of the machine, and it is futile to speak in detail of a volume which is so familiar. The book deserves to be read as a sensation of a past time; and viewed as a work it is maintained by a ceaseless process.

TWO NOTABLE BIOGRAPHIES.

Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, with extracts from his Journals and Correspondence. Edited by Samuel Longfellow. 2 Vols. Boston: Ticknor & Co. 1886.

Louis Agassiz: His Life and Correspondence. By Elizabeth Cary Agassiz: 2 Vols. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1885.

THE likeness which one feels in these two lives, lately passed into silence, is the likeness that there is in all high living. In the externals of their history little is to be perceived in common between Longfellow and Agassiz. But the patient and life-long devotion of both to the highest purposes of life brings them within one spiritual kinship. The prosperous issue of the aims of both was the reward of their loyalty. Their lives were certainly fortunate and happy beyond the usual lot; but circumstance was far from being on the side of either at birth, and if they were granted the happiness of seeing the air-castles of their boyish dreams take shape in substantial stone, it was due much less to the compassion of chance than to hard work, backed, of course, by their great talents. They worked in the different directions which their tastes appointed, and in a curiously different fashion; but there is a unity in two lives, however at variance their objects, which have been lived for something outside themselves,—for an ideal good or beauty, pursued with single, undivertible zeal through all the years given them for labor.

The Agassiz biography is, on the whole, the more complete and satisfactory record. The story of Longfellow's life is told from within in being told by himself through his journals and letters; but though we are furnished by this method with a very large mass of evidence about the poet's life, we get, after all, nothing like the full impression of it which one might be led to expect from the copiousness of the documents submitted.

The comment is sparse. The editor has, as it appears to us, in his modest anxiety to let his brother tell all his own tale, clipped his editorial function regrettably. Not only do we miss the flashes of intelligence which a contemporary and a brother could, it would seem, throw upon many passages of this interesting life, but much of the story might be given us directly by him with distinct gain to the lucidity and coherence of the narrative. When Longfellow had found his work as poet and professor at Cambridge, his existence, it must be granted, was so completely uneventful that the diary set before us pictures well, by the very monotony of its entries, the serenity of this happy and blameless life. Yet we confess to growing as weary of the record of this calm routine as the poet often confides to his journal that he was of the tiresome round of class-room duties; and we begin to feel, after a time, as we feel in regard to the creations of some novelists, that there ought to be a shorter and better way for literature to give us the sense of tedium and every-dayness than to be itself tedious and every-day reading. Mr. Samuel Longfellow has done his work with a uniform conscientiousness and care that merits the highest praise, and we should perhaps be grateful for the diffuseness which is an annoyance in reading the present volumes because it will offer to the writers, who will later come to construct the poet for us critically, rather than historically, the most invaluable data. And it must not be thought that this work has not a great and peculiar charm of its own. The journal form of narration has the advantages of its defects. We could, of course, get no such intimate knowledge of the workings of the mind here laid bare by any other method; and even if we should have known what manner of man this was quite as well if we were in possession of scantier information about the weather, the poet's walks or rides to Boston, his duties as professor, his whist and backgammon, his breakfasts, dinners, and suppers, we cannot be otherwise than grateful for a journal which, however encumbered, affords us so many delightful revelations. We see the poet meditative at his fire-

side in the night-watches, or engendering verses in his solitary before-sunrise walks and coming home to lend them the form and body which remain to give us pleasure; we catch glimpses of his intellectual life at a thousand angles, and are let into his confidence on sides as to which his poems are silent. The journals are full of such pleasant, shrewd, illuminating bits of observation as this :—

To me a sermon is no sermon in which I cannot hear the heart beat.

Sunday is like a stile between the fields of toil, where we can kneel and pray or sit and meditate.

Heard ——'s lecture. I noticed that his definition of the 'great poets' was one which would include himself.

——'s organ of self-esteem is so large that it seems sometimes as if it would lift him off his legs as the zeal of Thomas Aquinas in prayer is said to have lifted him into the air.

Scherb repeated some of the Psalms in Hebrew. Strange, mysterious language, building up its poems with square blocks of sound !

As one grows older and children multiply, the time is broken up ; and household cares usurp the place of poetic dreams and reveries. This is the reason men give up poetry, as women do music, after marriage.

And then the letters — his epistles to the great spirits of his time, and theirs to him — are rich in implications touching his character. Few men have won and kept such friends, and these letters show clearly the secret of his generous and beautiful capacity for friendship. Longfellow was above all a man of sympathy. His heart went lovingly out as upon countless invisible wires, toward all the experiences of humanity. It was this quality which made him the friend of those whom chance permitted him to reach and bless directly through his kindly personality, and the friend in spirit of the host whose knowledge of him was gained through his poetry. Lowell, Felton, Hawthorne, Sumner, Ticknor, Emerson, Prescott, Hilliard, Holmes, and, not least, Agassiz, certainly make a noble company of friends, — a company honorable to any man. In the society of these men, and others of not inferior fibre, he passed his life, and we have not anywhere in the two considerable volumes before us a hint of jar or halt in his friendship with them.

One of the most interesting of these amiable relations is that with Hawthorne. It is our good fortune that the two lived far enough apart to be obliged to communicate with each other for the most part in writing, and that we have thus a report of their intercourse, which shows forth its spirit with delightful clearness. Such a report we fail to get when, in the case of those whom the poet saw daily, we must depend upon his diary alone for our impressions. His daily jottings are not bare of reference to his friends and contemporaries by any means, but the references are almost always concise. The letters which passed between Hawthorne and Longfellow, though they tell us so much, are not very numerous; but as they were generally written upon the receipt of a new book by one from the other with the author's compliments, they are often like mile-stones in the lives of each. The friends vied with each other in encouragement and sympathy, and their generous exchange of praise of each other's works ought to go for something in refutation of the tradition of envy, backbiting, and jealousy among men of letters. The episode of Hawthorne's gift to Longfellow of the subject of *Evangeline* is, in itself, one of the most charming in literary history, as its fruit is one of the most admirable poems Longfellow wrote.

An interesting note in the diary in connection with the history of *Evangeline's* creation is the poet's experiment with the metre of the poem. Just before publication he put a passage from the second canto of the second part of *Evangeline* into pentameters with this result:—

Upon a spray that overhung the stream,
The mocking-bird, awaking from his dream,
Poured such delirious music from his throat
That all the air seemed listening to his note.
Plaintive at first the song began, and slow;
It breathed of sadness, and of pain and woe;
Then, gathering all his notes, abroad he flung
The multitudinous music from his tongue, —
As, after showers, a sudden gust again
Upon the leaves shakes down the rattling rain.

The hexameters have incontestably the advantage, as

may be seen from this transcription of the passage as it stands in the poem : —

Then, from a neighboring thicket, the mocking-bird, wildest of singers,
Swinging aloft on a willow spray that hung o'er the water,
Shook from his little throat such floods of delirious music,
That the whole air and the woods and the waves seemed silent to listen.
Plaintive at first were the notes and sad ; then soaring to madness
Seemed they to follow or guide the revel of frenzied Bacchantes,
Then single notes were heard, in sorrowful, low lamentation ;
Till, having gathered them all, he flung them abroad in derision,
As when, after a storm, a gust of wind through the tree-tops
Shakes down the rattling rain in a crystal shower on the branches.

The main incidents of Longfellow's life were known before the publication of this biography, and they need not be recounted at length here. We read of him as a child in his Portland home, that he was "a lively boy with brown hair, blue eyes, a delicate complexion and rosy cheeks, quick tempered, but as easily appeased, kind-hearted and affectionate — the sun-light of the house." And his teacher writes of him when he is six years old : "Master Henry Longfellow is one of the best boys we have in school. He spells and reads very well. He also can add and multiply numbers. His conduct last quarter was very correct and amiable." Correct and amiable he remained to his life's end, and we hear nothing but good reports of him throughout his school years. It is almost a relief to find "Monday morning's lesson and occasional levity" falling under the lenient condemnation of one of his school-masters. The boy's tendency toward correct deportment could not have been emphasised by a more extravagantly correct person than Jacob Abbot, the future author of the *Rollo* books, who by chance taught him at the academy where he was prepared for college. Longfellow entered Bowdoin at fourteen, an age which seems very young now, but which gave him no great start over other boys at the time. He was industrious, economical, and studious at college, and was graduated creditably. His letters to his father, in which he discusses the possibility of adopting Literature as a profession, are among the most interesting in the book. The question was settled by the offer of a professorship at Bowdoin, which

he accepted after the absence of three years in Europe, that exerted so large an influence on his after life. At Bowdoin he remained a little over five years, and during this time married his first wife, Miss Potter, of Portland, who died in Germany four years later, while the young professor, then fitting himself for his new post at Harvard College, was travelling with her abroad.

His first impulse to express himself in verse, of which we have a record, resulted in these stanzas : —

THE BATTLE OF LOVEWELL'S POND.

Cold, cold is the north wind, and rude is the blast
That sweeps like a hurricane loudly and fast,
As it moans through the tall, waving pines lone and drear,
Sighs a requiem sad o'er the warrior's bier.

The war-whoop is still, and the savage's yell
Has sunk into silence along the wild dell ;
The din of the battle, the tumult is o'er,
And the war-clarion's voice is now heard no more.

The warriors have fought for their country, and bled ;
Have sunk to their rest ; the damp earth is their bed ;
No stone tells the place where their ashes repose,
Nor points out the spot from the graves of their foes.

They died in their glory, surrounded by fame,
And Victory's loud trump their death did proclaim ;
They are dead ; but they live in each patriot's breast,
And their names are engraven on Honor's bright crest.

This performance, which appeared in *The Portland Gazette* when Longfellow was thirteen, is marked by the appropriateness of sentiment, the placidity of outlook, and the easy use of poetic measures which characterises his later poetry ; but men who have reached less fame have composed more remarkable lines at thirteen. There are frequent references in his letters to his family, while a student at college, to other verses which he has made ; but it was not until 1838, when he was about thirty years old, that he wrote a poem which attracted much attention. This was the *Psalm of Life*, written hastily one bright summer morning on the blank portions of a note of invitation. This was followed in the

same year by the *Psalm of Death*, regarding the genesis of which we have these entries in his journal: —

Dec. 6. A beautiful holy morning within me. I was softly excited, I knew not why; and wrote with peace in my heart and not without tears in my eyes, *The Reaper and the Flowers*, a *Psalm of Death*. I have had an idea of this kind in my mind for a long time, without finding any expression for it in words. This morning it seemed to crystallise at once without any effort of my own. It would seem as if thoughts, like children, have their periods of gestation, and then are born whether we will or not.

7th. In the afternoon copied *The Reaper* for the *Knickerbocker*, having in the morning received a letter from Clark. Added two stanzas. Dissatisfied with them and struck them out, leaving the piece as it came from my mind yesterday in a gush.

At about this time an occurrence gave him a suggestion for *The Wreck of the Hesperus*. We have in his diary: —

News of shipwrecks horrible on the coast. Twenty bodies washed ashore near Gloucester, one lashed to a piece of the wreck. There is a reef called Norman's Woe where many of these took place. Among others the schooner *Hesperus*. I must write a ballad upon this.

Not long after he makes this note: —

I sat till twelve o'clock by my fire, smoking, when suddenly it came into my mind to write the ballad of *The Schooner Hesperus*, which I accordingly did. Then I went to bed, but could not sleep. New thoughts were running in my mind, and I got up to add them to the ballad. It was three by the clock. I feel pleased with the ballad. It hardly cost me an effort. It did not come into my mind by lines, but by stanzas.

It was nearly three years later that the sight of so commonplace an object as a New York newspaper, bearing upon its front the seal of the State of New York, and the motto "Excelsior," inspired him to write the poem *Excelsior*, the publication of which gave the first considerable impulse to his fame. From this time — he was now about thirty-four — he went on "conquering and to conquer," and soon won for himself a place unique among American, and indeed among English-speaking, poets, for his writing went home to the heart of the common people, and there it continues enshrined.

His fame brought its penalties in the way of self-seeking visitors, autograph-hunters, and callow manuscript

makers ; and in nothing that we know of him is his unselfish kindness of disposition exhibited as in his patient reception of these inflictions. He was gentle and amiable to all with whom he came in contact, and spent his time for poachers upon it as generously as for the friends who came upon the precious hours by invitation. He was a faithful son, a good husband and devoted father, and the reader of this biography can only regret that the glimpses afforded of his domestic life, and especially of his two happy marriages, are so slight and fleeting.

Longfellow's life was contemplative and serene. The life of Agassiz, on the contrary, was bristlingly active. From his earliest years he asked questions of Nature which he promptly solved with the tireless energy for investigation with which he was born. In the yard behind his father's parsonage at Motier there was a stone basin, and here, while yet he a lad, he had, he says, "a reservoir for all the fishes I could catch," and he adds:—

What I know of the habits of the fresh-water fishes of Central Europe I mostly learned at that time ; and I may add, that when afterward I obtained access to a large library, and could consult the works of Bloch and Lacépède, the only extensive works on fishes then in existence, I wondered that they contained so little about their habits, natural attitudes, and mode of action with which I was so familiar.

At the age of fifteen [he says] I spent most of the time I could spare from classical and mathematical studies in hunting the neighboring woods and meadows for birds, insects, and land and fresh-water shells. My room became a little menagerie. . . . Indeed collecting, fishing, and raising caterpillars, from which I reared fresh, beautiful butterflies, were then my chief pastimes.

In the intervals of study he amused himself also "with all kinds of handicraft on a small scale." When a very little fellow he could cut and put together a well-fitting pair of shoes for his sisters' dolls, was no bad tailor, and could make a miniature barrel that was perfectly water-tight. He was wont to say in later life, that he owed much of his dexterity in manipulation to the training of eye and hand gained in these childish plays. When Agassiz was ten he was sent to a college for boys at Bienne, twenty miles from his father's Swiss parish, and here, in the company of his beloved brother Auguste, he

aid an excellent foundation for his education. His reading at this time was most advanced for a boy of his age, and as abundant as his father's purse and the demands upon his time permitted. When he had been four years at the school his parents desired him to enter the business-house of his uncle at Neuchâtel, with the intent of fitting himself for a mercantile life. But the boy begged for two additional years of study at the College of Lausanne, and, backed by his teachers, secured permission to continue his student life for that period. Here his love for everything bearing on the study of Nature was confirmed, and when the time set for his stay was up, his mother's brother, Dr. Mathias Mayor, a physician of note in Lausanne, who had observed the boy's intelligent interest in anatomy and kindred subjects, recommended to Agassiz' parents that their son be allowed to study medicine. His suggestion was effective with them, and thus Agassiz escaped the insatiable monster of Commerce, with which most men of unusual parts seem forced to do battle for the existence of their genius at some time in their young manhood. At seventeen he went to Zurich, and here he spent two years studying medicine under the guidance of professors whose original investigations lent freshness to their instruction. Professor Schinz, a man of wide knowledge, who held the chair of Natural History and Physiology, encouraged the young student by giving him a key to his private library, and also to his collection of birds. "Many an hour did the young student pass at that time in copying books which were beyond his means, though some of them did not cost more than a dollar a volume." Agassiz, writing of this period of his life at a later time, says:—

My inability to buy books was, perhaps, not so great a misfortune as it seemed to me; at least it saved me from too great dependence on written authority. I spent all my time in dissecting animals and in studying human anatomy, not forgetting my favorite amusements of fishing and collecting. . . . Professor Schinz's private collection of birds was my daily resort, and I then described every bird it contained, as I could not afford to buy even a text-book of ornithology. I also copied with my own hand, having no means of purchasing the work, two volumes of Lamarck's *Animaux sans Vertèbres*, and my

dear brother copied another half volume for me. I finally learned that the study of the things themselves was far more attractive than the books I so much coveted ; and when at last large libraries became accessible to me, I usually contented myself with turning over the leaves of the volumes of natural history, looking at the illustrations, and recording the titles of the works, that I might readily consult for identification of such subjects as I should have an opportunity of examining in nature.

In 1826, when Agassiz was 19 years old, he went to the University of Heidelberg where he spent a little more than a year enlarging his mind in all directions, and finding his love for Natural History growing with his increased familiarity with the study. Here he formed a friendship with a fellow-student, Alexander Braun, — a lover of Botany, — which lost none of its warmth in later years. They studied and collected specimens together, and in 1827 left Heidelberg in each other's company for the University of Munich. Here the two found a larger and more inspiring intellectual life. The professors to whose lectures they listened were among the foremost scholars in Europe in their several departments, and Braun and Agassiz received from them much personal aid and encouragement. The two students had their room in the house of Professor Döllinger, lecturer on Comparative Anatomy, and this "became the rendezvous of all the aspiring, active spirits among the young naturalists at Munich, and was known by the name of 'The Little Academy.'" Agassiz worked hard in the regular University routine ; and in the "Academy" with his fellow students, or upon his own account, he made diligent original investigations. As the time set for the termination of his studies at Munich drew near Agassiz became restless under the prospect of settling down to the practice of medicine. He grew more and more anxious to devote himself to the study of the Natural Sciences, and looked forward to winning a professorship as a means to that end. His father urged practical considerations, but was won over to his project by the publication of a work on Brazilian fishes, which at once gave the young naturalist a certain place among the scientists of Europe. The discussion between father and

son, carried on by letter, was most temperate on both sides, and the young Agassiz exhibited, for his part, the spirit of affectionate and dutiful submission which at all times characterised his admirable and often beautiful and touching relation with his parents.

At the close of 1830, being now 24 years of age, he left the University. He was Doctor of Philosophy and Medicine, and author of a quarto volume on the fishes of Brazil; but these facts baked no bread, and the aid which he had received from his father having now ceased, he felt obliged to do something for his immediate support. He returned to his home in Switzerland with the intention of gaining a subsistence from his profession; but in the year which he spent in his father's parish his collection of fishes increased more rapidly than his practice as a physician, and in 1831 he set out for Paris. He had made arrangements for the publication of two further works on fishes, which furnished him with some ready capital for the pursuance of the ichthyological studies which he now pressed forward in the museums of Paris. He worked steadily at the making of his books. Cuvier and Humboldt were his kind friends and helped him largely. He went on with the preparation of his works, straitened by poverty and sometimes discouraged by the great difficulties inherent in an enterprise requiring so much time and labor as well as the expenditure of considerable sums for the employment of artists. To this period belongs a curious dream, which is interesting, as Mrs. Agassiz says, —

Both as a psychological fact, and as showing how, sleeping and waking, his work was ever present with him. He had been for two weeks striving to decipher the somewhat obscure impression of a fossil fish on a stone slab in which it was preserved. Weary and perplexed he put his work aside at last, and tried to dismiss it from his mind. Shortly after, he waked one night persuaded that while asleep he had seen his fish with all the missing features perfectly restored. But when he tried to hold and make fast the image, it escaped him. Nevertheless, he went early to the Jardin des Plantes, thinking that on looking anew at the impression he should see something which would put him on the track of his vision. In vain, — the blurred record was as blank as ever. The next night he saw the fish again, but with no more satisfactory result. When he awoke it disappeared

from his memory as before. Hoping that the same experience might be repeated, on the third night he placed a pencil and paper beside his bed before going to sleep. Accordingly, toward morning the fish reappeared in his dream, confused at first, but at last with such distinctness that he had no longer any doubt as to its zoölogical characters. Still half dreaming, in perfect darkness, he traced these characters on the sheet of paper at the bedside. In the morning he was surprised to see in his nocturnal sketch features which he thought it impossible the fossil itself should reveal. He hastened to the Jardin des Plantes, and, with his drawing as a guide, succeeded in chiselling away the surface of the stone, under which portions of the fish proved to be hidden. When wholly exposed it corresponded with his dream and his drawing, and he succeeded in classifying it with ease. He often spoke of this as a good illustration of the well-known fact, that when the body is at rest the tired brain will do the work it refused before.

A very generous gift from Humboldt rescued Agassiz at a time which soon came, when he was almost disheartened and had begun to feel that his labors in Paris must be given up. Soon after he was rejoiced by an invitation to fill the chair of Natural History at Neuchâtel. Here he spent the years from 1832 to 1846 very happily. He was ceaselessly busy with his studies and investigations, with the works upon fishes which he continued to issue in parts, and with teaching. Besides his regular duties as professor, Agassiz lectured to audiences of friends and neighbors on botany and zoölogy, and with their children took long walks over the hills about Neuchâtel, instructing them as he went.

From some high ground affording a wide panoramic view Agassiz would explain to them the formation of lakes, islands, rivers, springs, water-sheds, hills, and valleys. He always insisted that physical geography could be better taught to children in the vicinity of their own homes than by globes or maps, or even books. Nor did he think a varied landscape essential to such instruction. Undulations of the ground, some contrast of hill and plain, some sheet of water with the streams that feed it, some ridge of rocky soil acting as a water-shed, may be found everywhere, and the relation of facts shown perhaps as well on a small as on a large scale. . . .

When the talk was of tropical or distant countries pains were taken to procure characteristic specimens, and the children were introduced to dates, bananas, cocoa-nuts and other fruits, not easily to be obtained in those days in a small inland town. They, of course, concluded the lesson by eating the specimens, a practical illustration which they greatly enjoyed.

During the years in Neuchâtel Agassiz became interested in the glacial phenomena of movement and transportation in the Alpine valleys, in connection with which his name has become famous the world over. His investigations led him to the theory of the great ice period, which, with its corollaries, is familiar to every modern student of science. It was in the summer of 1836 that Agassiz first engaged in glacial inquiries, and from that time until his death in 1873 it was the mastering interest of his life. He established a permanent station upon the glacier of the Aar in 1840, and until his departure for the United States spent every summer with a party of scientists in studying glacial phenomena. In the pursuit of positive knowledge about the glaciers there were no limits to his enterprise and daring. Accompanied by his friends and six guides he accomplished, in 1841, his famous ascent of the Jungfrau, and in the same year made an audacious exploration of the internal structure of the Aar glacier by descending into it.

Not satisfied with the report of his instruments from these unknown regions, he determined to be lowered into one of the so-called wells in the glacier, and thus to visit its interior in person. For this purpose he was obliged to turn aside the stream which flowed into the well into a new bed which he caused to be dug for it. This done, he had a strong tripod erected over the opening, and, seated upon a board firmly attached by ropes, he was then let down into the well, his friend Escher lying flat on the edge of the precipice to direct the descent and listen for any warning cry. . . . He was lowered successfully and without accident to a depth of eighty feet. There he encountered an unforeseen difficulty in a wall of ice which divided the well into two compartments. He tried first the larger one, but finding it split again into several narrow tunnels, he caused himself to be raised sufficiently to enter the smaller, and again proceeded on his downward course without meeting any obstacle. Wholly engrossed in watching the blue bands, still visible in the glittering walls of ice, he was only aroused to the presence of approaching danger by the sudden plunge of his feet into water. His first shout of distress was misunderstood, and his friends lowered him into the ice-cold gulf instead of raising him. The second cry was effectual, and he was drawn up, though not without great difficulty, from a depth of one hundred and twenty-five feet. The most serious peril of the ascent was caused by the huge stalactites of ice, between the points of which he had to steer his way. Any one of them, if detached by the friction of the rope, might have caused his death. He afterward said: 'Had I known all its dangers, perhaps I should not have started on such an adventure. Certainly, unless in-

duced by some powerful scientific motive, I should not advise any one to follow my example.'

The ideas which Agassiz advanced regarding glacial action and development met with general opposition among scientific men, especially in England, and he often found occasion to visit that country to urge his theory. There he made many pleasant acquaintances and friendships, received many honors, and won a commanding reputation, as he had begun to, indeed, throughout Europe. He had long been anxious to visit the United States with the intention of making certain investigations in ichthyology. Through Humboldt the King of Prussia became interested in his plans, and his grant of fifteen thousand francs for the journey determined him definitely upon a voyage to America.

The story of his stay in the United States is well known, and it is needless to enter into it in detail. He first appeared before us in the character of a lecturer, and, though hampered by a foreign accent, he became immediately popular, as no one could fail to be who spoke out of Agassiz' full knowledge, with his engaging directness and simplicity. He made the tour of the country and satisfied his scientific curiosity concerning it; but he did not return to Europe at the end of the term he had appointed. The Scientific School chanced to be established at Cambridge nearly coincidentally with the revolution of 1848 and the proclamation of the French Republic. Switzerland was in a tumult, and educational institutions in danger. Agassiz was offered the chair of Natural History in the school and accepted it. In Cambridge, where he now settled, Lowell, Felton, Peirce (the mathematician), Ticknor, Holmes, Prescott, and Emerson became his warm friends, as they were Longfellow's, and the two men whose lives we are considering mingled in daily intercourse, and learned to know each other with esteem and admiration on both sides. In 1851 Agassiz accepted a professorship in the medical college in Charleston, S. C., and here for two years he lectured during the three winter months, occupying the interval between the autumn and spring courses at Harvard.

relations with members of the Coast Survey being friendly, he often made tours for scientific investigation on government vessels ; and his visit to Florida for purpose of reporting upon the coral formations of coast of that state, as well as his later voyage around the Horn to California, will be remembered. A tour to Brazil, accomplished in 1865, resulted in numerous papers for the cause of science.

Agassiz undertook during his stay in this country an immense work, entitled *Contributions to the Natural History of the United States*. It was planned for issue in ten volumes, but only four saw the light. The subscribers to this undertaking were generous, though the price of the volumes was high ; and this proof of the esteem and consideration in which his labors were held touched Agassiz deeply. But the crowning joy of his life, as he regarded it, was the consummation of a long-cherished hope, was the establishment of the Museum of Comparative Zoölogy at Cambridge.

No account of Agassiz would be complete which did not touch upon his faithfulness to his religious instincts in the midst of his life-long questioning of the secrets of Nature. "A physical fact is as sacred as a moral principle." He wrote in his last published article, and he would not have accepted a denial of God from Nature, if he had found Him denied by her, as unhesitatingly as he accepted and honored the affirmation which repeated itself constantly as the fruit of all his challenges of Nature's laws. He "thought nobly of the soul," and to the end of his life did not overcome his aversion for the theory of evolution, nor find in his investigations sufficient grounds for its support. On the contrary, the volumes under review contain numerous expressions like the follow-

—
 "Have fishes descended from a primitive type? So far am I from regarding this possible, that I do not believe there is a single specimen of fossil or living fish, whether marine or fresh-water, that has not been created with reference to a special intention and a definite aim, though we may not be able to detect but a portion of these numerous relations of the essential purpose. Are the present fishes superior to the older ones? As a general proposition, I would say no."

It seems to me that even the fishes which preceded the appearance of reptiles in the plan of creation were higher in certain characters than those which succeeded them; and it is a strange fact that these ancient fishes have something analogous with reptiles, which had not then made their appearance. One would say that they already existed in the creative thought, and that their coming, not far removed, was actually anticipated.

And Mrs. Agassiz, commenting upon this attitude of her husband toward this great question, writes:—

The coincidence between the geological succession, the embryonic development, the zoölogical gradation, and the geographical distribution of animals in the past and present, rested, according to his belief, upon an intellectual coherence and not upon a material connection. So, also, the variability, as well as the constancy, of organised beings, at once so plastic and so inflexible, seemed to him controlled by something more than the mechanism of self-adjusting forces. In this conviction he remained unshaken all his life, although the development theory came up for discussion under so many various aspects during that time. His views are now in the descending scale; but to give them less than their real prominence here would be to deprive his scientific career of its true basis. Belief in a Creator was the keynote of his study of nature.

Content such a man as Agassiz can never be, for the bounds of the domain which he would explore recede unfailingly as he goes forward, and the stretches of conquered country behind are but so many incitements to reduce to possession the unknown land before. But he lived up to the fullest measure of himself, and few men can, upon their deathbeds, have had less to regret in the way of unused opportunities than he. His was a marvelously single, shapely, symmetrical life, seeming to spring from its earliest beginnings as surely into its destined form as a tree does, and making good, with a like persistence, the law of its being, by growing and expanding, and bringing forth at last the perfect fruit implied by the first young slip. It is pleasant to read the story of such a life, and to watch it fulfil its promises year by year. The winds of circumstance blow and rave about the man, but they do not disturb him in his loyal pursuit of his object. He knows what he has to do; he has his call from within, and outward conditions are not his concern. No privation has terror for him, and no labor discourages him. In his poverty he has confidence to draw drafts

pon his future, and his future honors them. He undertakes works in the cause of Science which would lighten richer men by their cost, and the result justifies him. When he runs up against a seemingly insurmountable obstacle, and is at the end of his resources, Providence raises up good friends to send him forward upon his self-sacrificing course. And when he is at last firmly upon his feet, and doing his chosen work in security and honor in America, his increased means are only a good to him so far as they can help on his life-work. His laboratory, his collections, his museum are constantly eating up more money than he can earn in the easy pursuit of his routine duties as professor at Harvard; and he makes frequent and exhausting lecture tours, and later establishes, with his courageous wife, a school for girls at Cambridge, to coin himself into the dollars necessary, not for his own comfort or advantage, but for the furtherance of the cause of science.

We get in this *Life of Agassiz* edited by his wife a gratifyingly complete and satisfactory picture of the man as he was,—of his energy, of his unflagging devotion to his large and unselfish purposes, of his generous abolishment of himself in the pursuit of higher aims, of his big, warm heart, of his genial, lovable personality, of his rounded life, concordant and agreeing in all its parts; and Mrs. Agassiz deserves the thanks of all who, through her, have made acquaintance with the noble character of her husband, for no reader can possess himself of the narrative of this fine life, which she tells with such perfect sympathy and understanding, with such modesty and reserve and yet with such fulness, and fail to feel himself the richer for the knowledge of it.

MOVEMENTS OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT IN BRITAIN DURING THE XIX. CENTURY.

Movements of Religious Thought in Britain during the Nineteenth Century. St. Giles Lectures. By JOHN TULLOCH, D. D., LL. D. Senior Principal in the University of St. Andrews. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1885.

THE movement of thought, especially of religious thought, is continuous, though not uniform, and therefore any attempt like this of Principal Tulloch is inevitably imperfect. Thus the division, according to the arbitrary lines of a century, is merely a convenience. It is like taking the measurements of a river between two points, as of the Hudson, for instance, between Newburg and Peekskill. The starting point is made with Coleridge, the closing with Robertson and Bishop Ewing. While some such division is necessary, one must not get the idea that these movements were complete in themselves. We think that Dr. Tulloch has in the main dealt very fairly with the different schools of which he has to treat. The least satisfactory portion is his criticism of the Oxford Movement. That is one impossible to be measured or understood from without. It was founded (whatever the possible extravagances of some of its promoters may have been) upon a very vital principle, namely, the idea of a Church divinely instituted in the beginning and continuously descended. There may be great difficulty in defining the exact relations of any branch or portion of the Church in any given time with this ever existing life, but no one who does not hold to it in some shape can possibly be a safe interpreter of religious thought. To one who regards the Church as constituted by Scriptural directions at any later period, there must happen the mistake of supposing that many points are left free to choice, which are really dependent on authority. The idea of a supernatural life conveyed by appointed agencies is lost in that of a mere subjective

influence. The value of an institution is thus measured by the effect men may recognise in it, and not by its unchanging and Divine purpose. It is very true that the conceptions of the leaders of the Oxford Movement were one-sided, and the points on which they went over to Rome were in many cases quite unlike. But their radical thought was one which lies at the base of all religious life, the idea of the Church as the kingdom of Heaven, and not as the creation of men.

The other portions of these lectures are more satisfactory, and their general tendency is a good one. They are, in fact, part of that large and growing effort toward a restoration of the lost unity of the visible Church, which is now going on. They are an effort toward the reconciliation of religious differences, by showing in what respects these are the outcome of partial views. Their main defect is that they suggest no sufficient basis of reunion, but it is much to set forth the idea that differences are not essential, but rather varying, modes of approaching the same truth. This is the converse of the past methods of dealing with these subjects. We are inclined, too, to accept Dr. Tulloch's idea that Coleridge was the great leader of the awakening movement in religious matters, or rather that his spirit was the one first reached by the illuminating thought of the new day, the foremost peak on which the rising light of dawn fell. No one can complain that the view of religious thought in this book is not wide enough, since it takes in John Stuart Mill and Carlyle, but Principal Tulloch has given a decidedly interesting history, and, of course, has not failed to bring in one or two Scotch ministers. The plan of the book looks to a perfect impartiality, but it is quite easy to see that there is a strong leaning on the author's part to the more rationalistic view of the Scriptures which is pervading Scotch theology. This is perhaps the inevitable reaction from the over rigid notions of the past, but we caution the reader against taking implicitly all he may find in these pages.

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FOUNDED 1848. PUBLISHED QUARTERLY IN JANUARY, APRIL, JULY AND OCTOBER.
EACH ISSUE CONTAINS 304 PAGES. QUESTIONS ARE DISCUSSED FALLING
WITHIN THE PROVINCE OF RELIGION, ETHICS, ART AND LITER-
ATURE. ALL ARTICLES ARE SIGNED BY
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Rev. Henry Mason Baum, Editor

ADDRESS: BOX 1839, NEW YORK CITY.

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THE CHURCH REVIEW was founded in April, 1848, under the title—THE CHURCH REVIEW AND ECCLESIASTICAL REGISTER; April, 1858, it was changed to—THE AMERICAN QUARTERLY CHURCH REVIEW AND ECCLESIASTICAL REGISTER; January, 1872, to July, 1885,—THE AMERICAN CHURCH REVIEW. In July it appeared with the simple title: THE CHURCH REVIEW.

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It is not possible to speak too strongly of this number of our great REVIEW. The Church needs now, as never before, a literary channel in which the grave and great questions which pertain to our internal arrangements, and concern the development of a truly American spirit, may be freely discussed from different points of view, and this appears to be the field which Mr. Baum aims to occupy, and in which he is sure to be sustained. In fact, he occupies it already, and the January number is an ample voucher for his ability to carry out his plans. To-day THE CHURCH REVIEW is a necessity to every educated Churchman.—*The Standard of the Cross*.

It is useless to say what a splendid feast is here spread, and while we might find ourselves disagreeing with some utterances,

this is a small matter, for there is much to agree with. As we said before, we congratulate the accomplished Editor in giving this Church so able a review, one more worthy of it than any other that has yet appeared.—*Southern Churchman*.

Forming, as it does, a repository of the current thought of the best minds among the Bishops, Clergy, and Laity, on topics of deep, actual, present interest, the REVIEW should receive the support of every Churchman, and become a power for good in the Church and the world.—*The Living Church*.

We do not hesitate to say that the July number of THE CHURCH REVIEW is the peer of any quarterly published in our language.—*Pacific Churchman*.

Even in this day of cheap books, it is a wonder that one dollar will buy a large octavo volume of such merit and interest, wholly original; and the Church which does not largely sustain and read it makes a sorry boast of its intellect and culture.—*The Church Kalendar*.

There is not an article in this issue of the REVIEW that will not repay careful reading. The American Church ought to be proud of it and ought to sustain it liberally.—*Western Churchman*.

The American CHURCH REVIEW, though it appears to have reached its forty-fifth volume is a periodical with which we can boast no large acquaintance. To judge from a cursory inspection of the number which is now before us, it deserves to be better known in this country than it is, etc.—*The Saturday Review*, [London].

The range of subjects treated embraces every department of modern thought and criticism. This REVIEW can enter into no household without elevating the tone of thought and conversation, and bringing both into accord with the Church's work and ways.—*Bishop Perry in Iowa Churchman*.

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The Commendation of the Bishops.

The following Testimonial was signed during the Session of the General Convention, held in Philadelphia, October, 1883, and bears the signatures of all the American Bishops present.

It is of pre-eminent importance that the Church shall have a Literature to express its best thought, and to stimulate its mental activity. It is a matter of duty as well as of pardonable pride to make this Literature as good as possible, and at least to keep it up to the average standard of the age.

At the head of our Current Literature stands the CHURCH REVIEW. During the last few years, and under its present Editorship, it has won a deservedly high place among all similar publications in the country. It is as comprehensive in its tone as the Church itself. All schools of thought that may lawfully claim recognition are welcome to its pages. The most vital questions of the day have been discussed by it with dignity, learning, and commanding ability. The field it occupies, intellectually considered, could not be allowed to become vacant without inflicting a stigma on the character and culture of our Church.

From a merely nominal subscription list it has advanced its circulation to some 2,500. To bring it within the means of all the Clergy, it has been obliged to cheapen its rates to a degree that forbids the hope of much profit, even with a greatly extended list of subscribers. In order to increase its efficiency, it needs the kind and measure of help which other Christian bodies have been ready and prompt to extend to their best organs of opinion.

It is enough to add, that the undersigned warmly commend the REVIEW to the favorable consideration of the Clergy and Laity, whose devotion to the best interests of the Church justifies a belief in their willingness to lend a helping hand to every good work.

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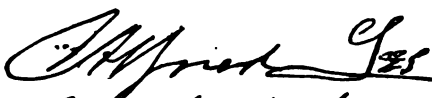
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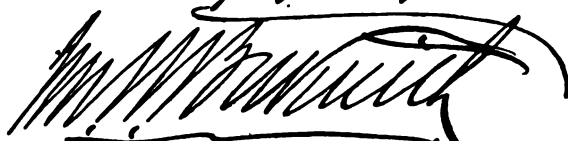
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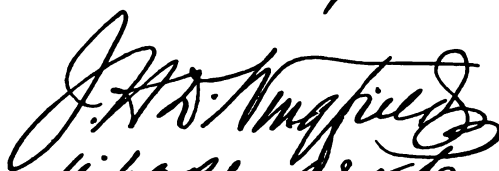
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The Church Review

Pro Ecclesia Sanctorum Catholicorum
Pro Sancta Ecclesia Anglica
Pro Sanctis Dei Operibus

EDITED BY THE

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VOL. XLVII.—7 APRIL, 1895 NUMBER CLXI

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY

in

JANUARY, APRIL, JULY, AND OCTOBER

NEW YORK

The Church Review Association

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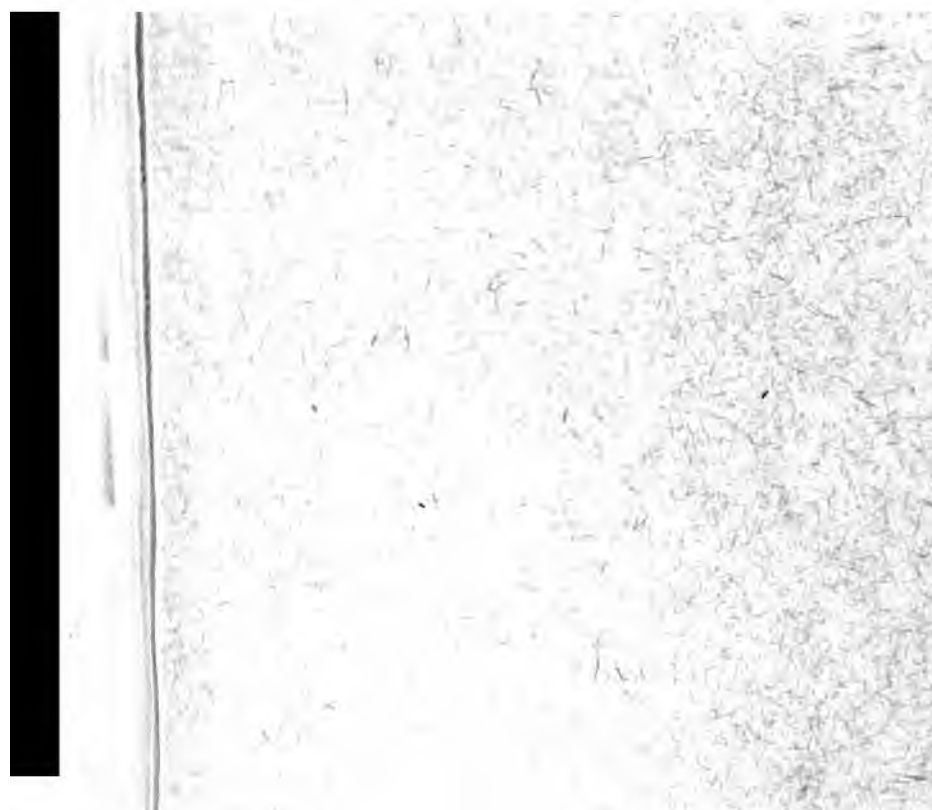
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